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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING,

MAY 30, 1881.

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
1880—1881.

Cambridge:
DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & CO.
G. BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.

1883

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L. Soc. 49. 25.1
Gift of the Society
Rec. - 1882? 86

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. & SON,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
AT ITS FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING,
MAY 30, 1881.

THE Council begs leave to congratulate the Members on the continued growth and activity of the Society which now has 223 members on its List: during the past year nine have retired and four have died; forty-three new names have been enrolled.

Of those whom we have lost by death, two names deserve more than ordinary mention. Dr EDWIN GUEST, the late Master of Gonville and Caius College, had been a zealous member of our Society from its foundation, had served on the Council from 1853 to 1868, and during 1855 and 1856 had occupied the President's chair. His acquaintance with nearly every branch of archaeology was extensive and accurate; but in connexion with the pursuits of this Society he will be chiefly remembered for his studies in the topography of Britain and in Early English. The Rev. S. BANKS, M.A., was elected into the Society in 1852, had served on the Council from 1871 to 1874, and contributed to our published Communications for 1865—66 an interesting Paper on the History of Cottenham,

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the parish of which he was Rector for the last thirty years of his life. He frequently exhibited antiquities found in that locality.

The Report and Communications for 1878—79 has been circulated amongst our Members, and the corresponding issue for 1879—80 is now passing through the Press, and will be issued, it is hoped, in a few days. The new editions of Dr RAVEN'S *Bells of Cambridgeshire* and of Professor BABINGTON'S *Ancient Cambridgeshire* are in the Press, and will probably be ready before the end of this year.

The Archaeological Collections and the Library have been placed in the gallery of the Hall in the New Museums, and are being arranged by Mr LIONEL H. CUST, B.A., Scholar of Trinity College, who has been appointed Curator and Librarian.

The following Societies have been admitted to an exchange of publications with our own Society:

The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.
The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society.

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SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1880.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Balance, Christmas, 1879	87	1	2
Subscriptions received	195	6	0
Rev. J. W. Pieters (publications)	2	6	0
	£284	13	2

Expenses.	£	s.	d.
Messrs Cowell (Anastatic Press)	1	15	0
Messrs Sayer and Wilson (for binding)	0	18	6
Hills and Saunders (for photographs, Hailstone)	18	8	0
Subscriptions returned (paid in error)	1	1	0
	22	2	6
Balance in Bank	262	10	8
	£284	13	2

Examined and found correct March 3rd, 1881.

JOHN B. PEARSON
F. C. WACE
} *Auditors.*

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COUNCIL.

May 30, 1881.

President.

Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College, *Trinity Praelector in Roman Literature and Archaeology.*

Vice-Presidents.

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Secretary.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

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LIST OF PRESENTS

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 30, 1881.

ANTIQUITIES.

From H. Phillips, Esq. (of Philadelphia):

A flint axe, two flint arrow-heads, and a terra-cotta whorl from the valley of the Delaware.

From G. W. Prothero, Esq. and F. J. H. Jenkinson, Esq.:

A cinerary earthen vessel of an unusual shape, nine smaller vessels and five lamps in terra-cotta, which formed part of the contents of a Roman grave at Port Mahon in the island of Minorca.

BOOKS.

From the Society of Antiquaries of London:

Proceedings of the Society. 2nd Series, Vol. VIII. Nos. 3 and 4, 8vo. London, 1880 and 1881.

List of the Society on the 3rd of June, 1880.

From the Royal Archaeological Institute:

The Archaeological Journal, Nos. 61 to 150 inclusive, 8vo. London, 1860 to 1881.

From the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society:

Architectural Papers, 1879.

Transactions, Vol. I. Part I. 8vo. London, 1881.

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From the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society:

Proceedings, Vol. VII. Nos. 3, 4, 5; Vol. VIII. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; Vol. IX. No. 1, 8vo. Norwich, 1866 to 1879.

From the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology:

Proceedings, Vol. V. No. 2, 8vo. Bury St Edmund's, 1880.

From the Kent Archaeological Society:

Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. XIII. 8vo. London, 1880.

From the Sussex Archaeological Society:

Sussex Archaeological Collections, Vol. XXXI. 8vo. Lewes, 1881.

From the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society:

Transactions, Vol. V. Parts 2 and 3, 8vo. Leicester, 1880 and 1881.

From the Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, &c.:

Reports and Papers for 1879, 8vo. Lincoln, 1880.

Index to Vols. IX. to XIV. (1867 to 1878) of Reports and Papers, 8vo. Lincoln, 1881.

From the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association:

Journal, Vols. I. II. III. 8vo. Derby, 1879, 1880, 1881.

From the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire:

Transactions, Vol. XXXII. (Third Series, Vol. VIII.) 8vo. Liverpool, 1880.

From the Liverpool Numismatic Society:

Journal, Nos. I. II. III. 8vo. Liverpool, 1873 and 1874.

From the Cambrian Archaeological Society:

Archaeologia Cambrensis. Fourth Series, Parts 43, 44, 45, 8vo. London, 1880 and 1881.

From the Powys-Land Club:

Montgomeryshire Collections. Vol. XIII. Parts 2 and 3; Vol. XIV. Part 1, 8vo. London, 1880 and 1881.

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From the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland:

Journal, Vol. v. Nos. 41, 42, 43, 44, 8vo. Dublin, 1880 and 1881.

From the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France:

Mémoires. Tome XL. (4me Série, Tome X.), 8vo. Paris, 1881.

From the Archaeological Society of Athens:

Πρακτικά. 8vo. Athens, 1879 and 1880.

From the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A.:

Report for 1878. 8vo. Washington, 1880.

From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia:

Reports for 1878, 1879, 1880. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1879—81.

Act and Bull: On the True Anniversary of the First Landing of William Penn at Philadelphia. By L. A. Scott.

Old and New Style, Fixed Dates, Calendars and the Principles and Results of their Emendation. By J. R. Baker.

Report on the Date of William Penn's Landing.

Notes upon a Denarius of Augustus Cæsar. By H. Phillips, Junior, Ph. D.

Description of the Remains of an Aboriginal Encampment at Rehoboth, Delaware. By the same Author.

From the University of Tokio, Japan:

The Shell Mounds of Omori. By Professor E. S. Morse. 8vo. Salem (Mass.), 1879.

From E. S. Morse, Esq., Professor of Zoology in the University of Tokio:

Some Recent Publications on Japanese Archaeology, pp. 12. 8vo. Salem (Mass.), 1880.

From H. Phillips, Esq., Junior, Ph.D.:

A Collection of Early American Ballads, in broadsheets.

A Memoir on some recent Discoveries of Stone Implements

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in Africa and Asia (from the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society). By the Donor. 8vo. 1880.

Address delivered before the New York Historical Society on its 75th Anniversary (November 18, 1879). By J. de Peyster, LL.D.

Memoir of C. B. Wood, M.D., LL.D. By Henry Hartshorne, A.M.

Special Report on Public Free Libraries in the United States. Part II. 8vo. Washington, 1876.

Obituary Notice of Peter McCall.

From the Rev. C. A. Swainson, D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity:

The History and Constitution of a Cathedral of the Old Foundation, illustrated from Documents in the Archives of Chichester Cathedral. 8vo. Chichester, 1880.

From Mr W. White:

The Report of the Borough Rate Committee to the Town Council of Cambridge, dated October 3, 1850. Folio.

Memorials of the Vicarage House and Garden in South Lynn. 12mo. Lynn, 1851.

Extracts from the Household Charges and other Payments laid out by the Lord North. 4to. (from *Archaeologia*, Vol. XIX.).

Antiquities of the Abbey of Durham. By P. Sanderson. 12mo. 1767.

The History and Antiquities of Rochester. 12mo. Rochester, 1833.

King Edward VI. on the Supremacy: the French Original and an English Translation. Edited by R. Potts, M.A. 12mo. Cambridge, 1874.

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY DURING THE YEAR ENDING MAY 30, 1881.

November 15, 1880. Professor Hughes, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. W. Amos, M.A., Trinity College.
Rev. E. T. S. Carr, M.A., St Catharine's College.
R. M. Fawcett, Esq., M.D., Scroope Terrace.
T. M. Francis, Esq., M.A., 17 Emmanuel Lane.
J. L. Ffytche, Esq., M.A., Thorpe Hall, Louth.
A. G. Hill, Esq., B.A., Jesus College.
H. E. Ryle, Esq., B.A., King's College.
J. R. Cely-Trevilian, Esq., Debden Hall.
J. E. C. Welldon, Esq., B.A., King's College.
Rev. R. Winkfield, M.A., Ely.

Professor Hughes exhibited some objects of Roman age, the property of the Dean of St Asaph, which were found in August, 1824 under a stone known as Bwrddygwylltiaid in Cwmllech near Blaencwmpennantmoelangell in Denbighshire. They consisted of an intaglio in sardonyx with the device of a lion *passant*, set in an ornamental gold ring with a torque-like cable border, and two gold ornaments, which in form resemble the ends of a torque, but which from their being hollow are considered by Mr King to be Roman, and to have been appendages to an article of dress or to some trappings of leathern or textile fabric. Two coins, which unfortunately had been separated from the rest of the find, were not forthcoming. But in an old letter from Mr W. Allen Jones, which was also exhibited, they were mentioned as Roman brass coins:

(1) Of Gaius Victorinus Pius Felix Augustus (268 A.D.).
(2) Of Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus (260—268 A.D.).

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Professor Hughes pointed out that there was evidence in several places of the Romans having advanced far into the Eastern valleys of the Berwyns, as might be seen in the concrete and tiles of Ffrith near Wrexham, to be mentioned again in connexion with Offa's Dyke, and in what were probably Roman remains at Llanrhaiadrymmochnant.

Professor Hughes exhibited a small token found in excavating for foundations at Trinity Hall, bearing on the obverse a stag passant and the name WILLIAM LI[M]BER; on the reverse L over WD and the legend IN CHESTERTON.

Mr Walter K. Foster, F.S.A., read a paper on his recent excavations in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Barrington in this county. (See Communications, Vol. V. No. II.)

Mr Griffith exhibited a number of objects found in the cemetery by the workmen before Mr Foster began his excavations, including a beautiful electrum pendant of twisted filigree work, a silver finger-ring of the snake pattern, &c.

He pointed out that as by far the greater part of the fragments of Roman pottery had occurred in the pits and fosse, whilst in the graves themselves, amongst a considerable number of Saxon sherds, only a very few were found of Roman manufacture, there was little doubt that the pits and fosse were of Roman age; the angular shape of the fosse also favoured this supposition. For what purpose the pits had been made was only a matter of conjecture; the care with which they had been dug and drained forbad the supposition that they were intended for rubbish-holes, although they had evidently been used as such subsequently.

Mr Conybeare, vicar of Barrington, laid before the Society additional specimens from the same locality, together with a large map of the parish, from which it appeared that all the objects came from one of three spots, lying respectively N.W., N.E., and S.E. of the present village. The first of these was the Anglo-Saxon cemetery explored by Mr Foster, and shewn by him to have been the site of an earlier Romano-British dwelling-place, which the last appeared to have been also, many ash-pits and kitchen-middens having been found there. Besides these there were traces of a fight having taken place at the passage of the river, many arms and bones of men and horses (with the bit in one case still in the mouth) having been dug up there. Amongst the objects which he exhibited, he called special attention to this bit, and to some large knives of curious form, scientifically designed to give them greater power as weapons; also to a standard-rest, and to a circular brooch which he considered to be of Danish origin, bearing a raven engraved on the green glass centre. Mr C. W. King however pronounced this to be Roman and the bird to be an eagle.

Professor Skeat offered the following remarks on the discoveries at Barrington: "We should be careful to see if any scratches are found on any

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of the objects, which can be interpreted as inscriptions. Sometimes runic inscriptions are found, which at first sight would seem not to be inscriptions at all, but mere parallel scratches. It is also important to look out for any specimens of the interlaced ribbon-pattern. If wood is found attached to a boss or to a spear, it would be interesting if it could occasionally be ascertained what kind of wood it is, that we may see whether the shields were of *linden*-wood, and the spears of *ash*, as they are usually said to be in poetry. The specimens of ale-vats are peculiarly interesting, as we find frequent allusions to them."

Mr W. B. Redfarn exhibited an Early English terra-cotta lamp, of a very unusual form, which had been recently dug up, together with a Roman bone pin, some medieval pottery, &c., at the back of Mr Pryor's house in Petty Cury.

Mr Lewis remarked that the lamp was in shape not unlike some of those Kabyle lamps, with which the imitations in Vallauris ware have made us familiar.

Mr T. H. Naylor sent for exhibition a piece of a medieval book-clasp of brass, which appears to have been richly gilt. It bears the engraved figure of the Virgin, having a lily above her head, distorted so as almost to form a cross. The clasp was found during the progress of excavations in the road leading to Chesterton Church.

For want of time Mr King's Memoir on two early Christian gems was taken as read. (See Communications, Vol. V. No. I.)

November 29, 1880. Professor Hughes, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. J. W. E. Conybeare, M.A., Barrington Vicarage.
V. E. H. Corbett, Esq., Trinity College.
Percy Gardner, Esq., M.A., Christ's College, Disney Professor of Archaeology.
Rev. J. J. R. Leigh Knipe, M.A., St George's Rectory, Hatley.
Rev. J. C. Lambert, M.A., Downing College.
J. C. Priestley, Esq., Pembroke College.
W. F. White Cooper, Esq., Pembroke College.

Professor Hughes (after a short review of the literature of the subject) gave the result of some enquiries and excavations that he had made along the line of Wat's and Offa's Dykes, with a view to comparing them with the somewhat similar earth-works in East Anglia known as *Devil's Ditch*, *Balsham Dyke*, and *Fleam Dyke*.

First he observed that the Western dykes did not run along the most easily defended positions or those most exposed to attack, but in a nearly

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straight line, often obliquely down the slope of one side of the valley and obliquely up the other, in a manner that rendered it extremely improbable that they were meant for defence, as in one part they were commanded from the West and in the other from the East. Again, the fosse was often omitted, where the material for constructing the dyke could be obtained as easily by cutting away the hill top up to the vallum.

Thinking that the fosse might have been filled up, he had excavated in several places above Brymbo Hall with the kind assistance lent him by Mr Osborne Morgan, but he had been unable to find that any fosse had ever existed along that part of the dyke. On the low ground there was frequently a fosse on the West side and the steeper slope of the vallum was, as far as he had observed, always on that side.

The only objects that he learnt had been found in the earth of the vallum were a Roman altar and some Roman coins and pottery. The explanation then offered of their occurrence in the dyke was that they had been thrown up in Saxon times with the earth from a ruined Roman residence which lay in the line of the dyke. But these remains were now scattered and most of them lost, and the record as to their mode of occurrence imperfect. He thought the evidence relating to the age and purpose of the dykes on the borders of Wales as well as of those in East Anglia was very scanty and unsatisfactory, and called for more careful search and observation whenever opportunities were afforded.

Professor C. C. Babington expressed his agreement with Professor Hughes in most of what he had said. He thought that the ditches were not meant for a defended line, but rather as a means of delaying the retreat of marauding parties from a hostile tribe. The steep slopes and depth would much delay them in driving off a spoil of cattle. The highest side and the bank would be towards the tribe most desirous of stopping these raids, and therefore they were the makers of the ditch. The ditches in Cambridgeshire did this for the people of East Anglia against the Mercians. The ditch at Pampisford is different, as it has a bank on each side: it may be pre-Roman, the others post-Roman.

Mr Swann Hurrell remarked upon the existence of *Offa's Bridge* near Foxton and *Offa's Brook*, which is still the boundary between Foxton and Harston parishes.

Mr Lewis called attention to the fact that a street in Bedford, which in the last century bore the appropriate name of *Offal Lane*, is now known as *Offa's Lane;* local pride has ever had a tendency to corruption of this kind, which should teach us to beware of too hasty identification.

The Rev. Dr Hooppell exhibited several articles of great interest found on a fenny piece of land in the parish of Littleport in this county. One was a curved knife of flint, about six inches long, exceedingly perfect,

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wanting only the handle. It was stated that these knives are of rare occurrence in England, only one, found in Britain, being in the British Museum, and a few in the hands of private collectors. They are found somewhat more frequently in Denmark. Another object was a stone mace, or club, for use in warfare. It is a thick disc of hard stone, of circular form, with a sharp edge all round, and a hole drilled through the centre, for the insertion of a stout oaken, or other hard wood, staff. It must evidently have been a most formidable weapon. Such weapons are manufactured and used at the present day by the savages of New Guinea. Specimens have been found in Denmark, but none in all respects like the one exhibited are known to have been found hitherto in England. Another object shown was a bronze celt of fine workmanship and early type. An object found at the same place, and which may have been used as a sling stone, turned out (as was remarked by Mr A. C. Haddon) to be the worn internal cast of a chamber of a Neocomian ammonite. Another object shown was a medieval jug, pierced at the bottom with four holes, the use of which was the subject of much speculation. Dr Hooppell suggested that the holes were made at a date subsequent to the original manufacture of the jug, and that they were intended to adapt it to use as a water sprinkler. Along with these articles was shown a stone-grinder from the Roman station of Vinovium, which was a British town before it was captured and occupied by the Romans, near Bishop Auckland in the county of Durham. This implement is a large pebble about four inches long and three inches thick, hollowed into a deep channel in which the original possessors ground pointed implements of stone, horn, or bone. The flutings caused by repeated use were very visible on the sides and at the bottom of the channel.

Mr Pigot exhibited three sepulchral urns, on which he commented as follows: "These three urns, together with a smaller one, which I have left at home, were found about three years ago on the eastern side of the old West River, in the parish of Wicken, opposite to Dimock's Cote in the parish of Stretham. A parishioner of mine brought one into my village, which he was recommended to show me, and through him I was led to visit the coprolite diggings, where it and others were discovered. Many such urns were found, but most of them were broken, when the earth was thrown down in search of coprolites. They were found, I believe, at various levels, and most of them contained calcined bones. These the workmen insisted on turning out of the urns, in the hope of finding something more valuable. In one of the urns a smaller vessel was placed in the mouth and an iron ring in it. In another a somewhat larger one was found. At the same spot were found the two glass bottles, one very perfect; the other, though broken, capable of being recognised, as all the parts are in existence. The latter is of a rather larger size than usual.

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There are also two of Samian ware. A friend who was with me unfortunately rubbed one of these while still wet, and so obliterated the name of the maker. Another of a more elegant shape bears the inscription ALBVCI.OF. The name of this potter is met with not unfrequently, and appears, I believe, on some Roman pottery which was found at Chesterford some years ago.

"The site of this discovery appears to have been an old Roman burial-place, and the soil was sandy; a few months before some Roman pewter dishes were found in Stretham parish, about a mile distant from this spot, which I shall be happy to show at some future time. Some similar dishes were found a few years ago at Sutton in the Isle, and there are others in the museum at Ely."

Prof. Babington said that the Roman remains exhibited by Mr Pigot were very interesting to him, as they strongly confirmed his idea that a Roman way went along the ridge by Wicken to Barway, and then crossed the river to Thetford in the Isle of Ely.

A paper written by Mr J. Rickard on a large number of Palaeolithic implements collected by the writer in South Africa, was read by Mr Griffith, and a fine selection of the implements exhibited. (The publication of this paper is unavoidably deferred.)

Mr W. White read a paper entitled 'Suggestions as to the origin of the so-called *Rubbish Pits*, which are commonly found associated with Roman remains'. He endeavoured to show by the size and shape of the pits, and the care there had evidently been in forming them, the great depth of some of them and the nearness to one another, as also from the similarity of the earth in them wherever situated, and their contents being of the same character, that they were not rubbish pits.

He next showed that the Greeks after burning the body on the funeral pyre, collected the bones in urns, and then raised mounds of earth over the *debris* of the pyre, and that the Romans after the time of Sulla followed the Greek fashion, burning the body with great pomp, casting on the pyre dishes of meats, cups of oil, &c. They also carefully collected the bones. But what, he asked, became of the ashes, &c., of the funeral pyre? He suggested that these pits were the receptacles of the *debris* of the funeral pyre, and thus we found in them all things that were cast upon the fire. In this way he believed the Samian dishes and bowls came into these pits, together with the various ornaments used both by men and by women. He thought it not improbable that the dishes, bowls, and other ware having been once offered to the gods, were broken that they might not be used for secular purposes. The few coins that were found were, in his opinion, the coins placed in the mouths of the corpses to pay old Charon his fare, whilst the various bones of animals were all such as might have been offered to

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one or other of the gods; and what he thought tended to confirm his opinion was, that all these things showed, more or less, the marks of fire.

Mr White thought it very probable that after the introduction of Christianity and the consequent disuse of the rite of cremation, these pits, which up to that time had been held sacred, were no longer considered so, and were used for secular purposes.

February 28, 1881. Professor Hughes, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:
J. B. Allen, Esq., M.A., St John's College.
J. Bonnett, Esq., M.A., St John's College.
A. G. Dew-Smith, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
S. Gedge, Esq., M.A., Corpus Christi College.
J. W. Leader, Esq., M.A., Corpus Christi College.
H. C. Monro, Esq., Clare College.
Rev. H. E. Savage, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
H. B. Shaw, Esq., B.A., Sidney Sussex College.
Captain S. Stanley, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

The meeting was then made special for the consideration of the Revised Laws of the Society, which were adopted with a few verbal alterations.

Professor Hughes exhibited and described some felstone implements which he had recently found in a cave in the valley of the Elwy, North Wales, where they were associated with the remains of Rhinoceros hemitoechus, Ursus spelaeus, Hyaena spelaea, &c. The point to which he called attention as of chief interest was that the felsites and compact felspathic ash, of which the implements were formed, did not occur in the basin of the Elwy, but were common in the drift which had travelled from the west over the watershed. The character of the undressed portions of the implements confirmed the view that they were procured from the drift or the gravel derived from the drift, and therefore were *post-glacial*.

Professor Hughes, after a short review of what is known of the ancient tribes of North Wales, in which he suggested that the men of Ardudwy might be the *Ordovices* (mentioned by Tacitus in the *Annals* and *Agricola*), and pointed out the district which local names assign to the Gwyddelod, gave a sketch of the various kinds of hill forts which occur on the borders of North Wales. These, he said, fell into two groups:

A. Stone-works. B. Earth-works.

A. There was no masonry in the proper sense of the word in any of the hill forts referred to: that is to say, there was no mortar or cement of

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any kind, nor any walling of stones dressed so as to fit together. But there was in some cases:

i. A rude wall formed by building up rough stones. These walls have generally been demolished either on purpose or by the accidents of time, so that they present the appearance of long continuous lines of rough stones heaped up as if thrown by hand to get the stones out of the way. But sometimes the loose stones of the upper part have preserved some of the rude walling near the base, and it is seen to vary according to the forms into which the rock used naturally breaks.

ii. A still more common kind of stone rampart formed by placing two rows of slabs on edge about 4 to 6 feet apart, and filling the interval with rubble of smaller stones.

B. The earth-works consisted of one or more lines of fosse and vallum, always conforming to the shape of the ground and ceasing where a precipice or other natural defence rendered them unnecessary.

Sometimes there was a combination of the second class of stone-works with the earth-works, and the author offered some remarks as to the probable relative age of the several works. He further pointed out the geographical distribution and local names of the principal camps on the borders.

Mr Lewis exhibited on behalf of Mr Naylor, who was unavoidably absent, a chalice, which he had lately purchased in Norwich: it had belonged to the parish of Rockland in that neighbourhood (the church has long been in ruins), and bears the legend

✠ SENT × TANDROVS × OF × ROCKLAND ×

It was considered to be of foreign (perhaps German) manufacture, and of the sixteenth century. The curious form TANDROVS (for Andrew) was illustrated by such words as *tawdry*, *Tibbs* and *Tooley*, which are derived from *St Etheldreda*, *St Ebbe* and *St Olave* respectively. By the kind permission of the Vicar and Churchwardens of the parish of St Andrew the Great in Cambridge, their similar, but much more highly ornamented, chalice was also exhibited; it bears the legend:

✠ THIS * FOR * SENT * TANDROS * PARES * KAMBREGE.

On the top of the cover is the date, 1569.

A paper by Mr C. W. King upon the Roman method of striking medallions was communicated by Mr Lewis, and ordered to be printed. (See Communications, Vol. V. No. III.)

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March 14, 1881. Professor Hughes, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

A. Beverley, Esq., St John's College.
Rev. E. W. Blore, M.A., Trinity College.
G. W. Fitch, Esq., Regent Street.
A. Story-Maskelyne, Esq., King's College.

Mr Griffith communicated notes on a series of neoliths collected in Cape Colony and the Diamond Fields by Mr J. Rickard, now resident in Cambridge, who exhibited a large and valuable collection of them. (The publication of this paper is unavoidably deferred.)

Mr W. W. Cordeaux exhibited an Anglo-Saxon fibula-mould, which had been found at Lincoln during the latter end of last year; it seems to have been formed from a concretionary nodule found in the Kimmeridge clay.

The shape of the mould seems to suggest that it was used for the purpose of embossing and not for casting; this was tried with tin-foil and succeeded perfectly.

The design consists of a central box divided into four portions by a raised and beaded cross decorated with a circular ornament at the junction of the arms. Each of the four spaces between the cross arms is filled up by lines bisecting them with other lines projecting at an acute angle from them. Round the box is a beaded circle, then comes another circle with dog-tooth ornamentation, and lastly an outer beaded circle.

Mr Lewis exhibited an unpublished small bronze coin of Nicaea in Bithynia bearing on the *reverse* the portrait of Homer. (See Communications, Vol. V. No. IV.)

Mr Lewis exhibited a drawing also, which Mr Redfarn had kindly made from photographs to the size of the original (4 ft. 5 in. high) of the statue of ATHENA Nikephoros, which was discovered on the 30th of December, 1880, at Athens in the ruins of an old Roman house on the northern side of the Βαρβάκειον Lyceum,—and thus close to the northern boundary of the ancient city. The figure is of white marble from the northern side of Pentelikos, and is armed with helmet, shield and aegis; it was found lying on its face at the depth of about 2 ft. 6 in., and had been covered by a vaulting of tiles, which had doubtless been so arranged when it was first buried. Traces of colour are still visible on the helmet's plume, on the eyes of the serpent which serves the goddess as a girdle, on the wings of the Gorgon-head, on her shield and elsewhere. There is nothing to indicate a *lance;* but from the exact coincidence in nearly every other detail with the account given by Pausanias it may be fairly inferred that we have in this

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statue a reduction from the great chrysclephantine statue of the Virgin Goddess by Pheidias, which was the chief glory of the Parthenon. The offer of 500 drachmae on the part of the municipality has still failed to bring to light the only missing part of this noble sculpture,—the head of the Victory which, with wings half folded, alights on the goddess's right hand and offers a garland, doubtless to the city of Athens. The whole group may probably be attributed to the first century of our era.

May 16, 1881. Professor Hughes, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. A. J. C. Allen, B.A., Peterhouse.
Rev. Prebendary G. B. Blenkin, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
W. W. Boreham, Esq., F.R.A.S., Haverhill.
Rev. A. H. F. Boughey, M.A., Trinity College.
F. C. Chambers, Esq., Trinity College.
Sir Patrick Colquhoun, LL.D., Q.C., St John's College.
A. Gray, Esq., M.A., Jesus College.
T. C. Hughes, Esq., Pembroke College.
Rev. P. H. Mason, M.A., St John's College.
Rev. J. Sedgwick, D.D., Birdbrook Rectory, Halstead.

Mr Jenkinson gave a preliminary notice of excavations in the Roman and Saxon cemetery at Girton College, and exhibited specimens of the objects discovered.

The Saxon remains consisted chiefly of sepulchral urns, which were generally highly ornamented with bosses and cord-like patterns in relief, and the usual annular, decussate, stellate, etc., marks produced by stamps. In the urns were found burnt human bones, with fibulae, beads, etc., much injured by fire, and bone combs or pieces of comb which, as well as the bronze tweezers which sometimes occurred with them, showed no signs of burning.

About forty graves had been explored; the objects found were mostly of the usual character. Sixteen fibulae had occurred; three graves had yielded three apiece. Beads of glass, mostly blue, of amber, and of pottery more or less vitreous occurred numerously in five graves; scantily in a few others. Bronze clasps of bracelets were on the wrists of three skeletons, and in one case the gilt metal ornaments and tag of a girdle were found. A bronze pin, a bronze ring, bronze tweezers and ear-pick, a spiral bronze finger-ring, and a bronze-hooped wooden bucket were the other things found, to which must be added a dozen iron knives and one or two iron buckles. Three bodies had spear-heads at the right shoulder; one had a

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small axe-head in the same position. A layer of stones often covered the grave; the rectangular outline of many of these stones, as well as the fact that they were oolite and must have been brought from a distance, suggested that some Roman building had furnished the materials; and a mass of cement with a Roman brick imbedded in it, which lay at the head of one grave, gave further confirmation of this theory. The urns were often covered with pieces of similar stone, and occasionally with a piece of Roman tile.

It was clear that cremation and inhumation were practised to some extent at least simultaneously; for while in some cases urns had been broken in digging a grave, they were more than once found lying undisturbed in the soil immediately over a skeleton, which must accordingly have been buried at an earlier time.

The Roman remains consisted principally of the contents of two square wooden boxes, the form of which was clearly traced by the nails and the pieces of wood adhering to them. Each contained a glass cinerary vessel: of these one was square, the other hexagonal.

Each contained an iron lamp with hooked rod for suspension, and other vessels of glass and of Samian and other ware. The marks on the Samian were all of known potters (PAVLLI·M, PAVLI·F (*sic*), BORILLI·M, PATERATI·OF); a glass bottle bore on its flat bottom the circular legend C·LVCRETI·FESTIVI, and an undeciphered mark in the centre.

A glass patera showed impressed on the under side the figure of a swan displayed above an expanded flower. The most interesting vase was one with brown vitreous glaze, ornamented with vertical raised yellow lines. There was also what appears to have been a large circular wooden object covered with thin bronze, along one side of which were rings and large hollow bosses of the same metal.

Two cases had occurred of Roman interment by inhumation: at least, two bodies were found with a Roman vase against the feet of each; and the heads in both cases lay to S.S.W., which there seems reason to believe was the orthodox Romano-British position.

Referring to a diagram which illustrated the topography of the graveyard, he pointed out that the Saxon graves seemed to have been made without regard either to direction or to symmetrical arrangement. One definite area of Saxon urns had been noticed, forming a belt about three yards wide running N.N.E. and S.S.W.: other parallel belts were suspected but not recorded in detail. The Roman remains were not numerous enough to indicate certainly any method in their disposition: but the two cinerary interments found were in a line running W.N.W. and E.S.E., or approximately parallel to the supposed direction of the Roman road.

In reply to a question by Professor Babington, Mr Jenkinson stated that in one place within ten yards of the interments the ground was full of fragments of stone which seemed to bear no relation to urns or graves.

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Dr Babington gave some details to prove the great similarity between these Roman antiquities from Girton and those found in 1843 and 1844 at Rougham in Suffolk, of which he had himself written a description for the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology (see *Proceedings of Suff. Inst. Arch.*, Vol. IV. pages 257—281).

Dr Pearson exhibited to the Society and commented on a view of the earthen rampart or lines of Perekop, at the isthmus leading into the Crimea, taken from Pallas's *Travels in Southern Russia*. (See Communications, Vol. V. No. V.)

Dr Pearson also exhibited a rubbing of a monumental brass, recording the demise of a certain lady on the XXIX day of February, MDCXXIX. He showed that such a day never existed, the leap-year being the year Jan. to Dec. 1628, even though the portion of it from Jan. 1 to March 24 was in England still called 1627. He referred to the Journals of the Houses of Parliament to confirm his statement that the intercalated day fell in February 1627-28, not in 1628-29. From the register of the parish it appears that the lady in question was interred on February 23 in that year; from which it may be probably inferred that she died on the 19th of the same month, and that the date in the inscription should have been XIX, not XXIX.

May 30, 1881. Professor Hughes, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following Officers were unanimously elected :

President.

Rev. R. Burn, M.A., Trinity College, Trinity Praelector in Roman Literature and Archaeology.

Vice-President.

Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A., Christ's College, Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

Treasurer.

W. M. Fawcett, Esq., M.A. Jesus College.

Secretary.

Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D., Trinity College, University Registrary.

G. M. Humphry, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, Professor of Anatomy.

T. M^{c}K. Hughes, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, Woodwardian Professor of Geology.

F. J. H. Jenkinson, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

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Auditors.

F. C. Wace, Esq., M.A., St John's College.
Swann Hurrell, Esq.

Lionel H. Cust, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, has been appointed *Curator* and *Librarian.*

The Annual Report mentioned the continuous growth of the Society, which now numbers 223 members, and referred to the loss recently sustained by the deaths of Dr Guest and of the Rev. S. Banks, M.A., the former of whom had been an active member of the Society from its foundation.

The Treasurer reported that the Society has a balance in hand of £262. 10*s.* 8*d.*, which is however fully required to meet the expense of the new editions of Dr Raven's *Bells of Cambridgeshire* and Professor Babington's work on *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, and other books which will soon be issued to Members.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. R. Phelps, D.D., Master of Sidney Sussex College.
G. O. Read, Esq., Thetford, Norfolk.
Rev. A. Fowler Smith, M.A., LL.D., St Mary's Vicarage, Thetford, Norfolk.

A communication was read from Sir P. Colquhoun on the true site of Dodona.

Mr Browning made the following remarks on a Keltiberian Inscription:

"When visiting the theatre of Saguntum on April 16, 1881, I found imbedded in the proscenium a number of stone tablets with Roman inscriptions. Among them was a stone carved carefully and exactly with strange characters, which at first reminded me of the Cyprian Syllabary described about ten years ago by Brandis and others. I took a careful tracing of the letters, and my companion drew a rough sketch of the inscription. From these two sources Mr W. Thomas has made the facsimile sketch which I now exhibit. Returning to England I sent the inscription to my friend Professor Sayce, who wrote to me from Oxford, 'The inscription is in the character of the so-called Keltiberian alphabet, only partially deciphered as yet by the help of a few bilingual coins. The last conclusions on the subject are found in Heiss. According to the alphabet at present accepted the inscription would read

1.	a	o	e	t
2.	i	u	e	
3.	e	i	l	?

The *i*, *u* and *l* are certain, but I feel very doubtful about the two *e*'s. We do not know whether the words are to be read from left to right, or from right to left, nor do we know the language in which they are written.

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Several of these inscriptions have been published in the *Academia*, a journal that appeared at Madrid three or four years; a good many others I have myself copied in Spain. But this Saguntum one is new to me, and the place where it is found makes it very interesting.'

I may say that I hardly share Mr Sayce's doubts about the two *e*'s. The most interesting letter in the inscription is the last, which is generally rendered OV, but which may be O, and which occurs too seldom upon coins to be certainly identified. The language is supposed to be Basque. The character is a form of Phoenician, and resembles both the monetary Jewish alphabet and the Greek. I have only brought this inscription before the Antiquarian Society in the hope of stimulating Cambridge travellers in Spain to look out for similar inscriptions, which cannot fail to be of interest in a subject of which so little is at present known.

I may add that a congress of Keltiberian antiquaries is to be held at Madrid next autumn."

Mr W. B. Redfarn exhibited and described a collection of medieval spurs:—

No. 1. A fine iron spur, with six-pointed rowel, the neck measuring 7½ inches. One very similar to this, but about one inch longer, in the Londesborough Collection (No. 938), is dated "Richard II., 1377."

No. 2. Iron spur, similar to the above, but having lost the rowel, and generally not in such good preservation.

No. 3. Iron spur, about same date as Nos. 1 and 2, and having also lost the rowel.

No. 4. An elegant iron spur with the remains of an eight-pointed rowel; 15th century.

No. 5. Iron spur, late 15th century, with an eight-pointed rowel.

No. 6. A bronze spur, middle of 15th century, having a seven-pointed rowel. This spur was dug up in Emmanuel Street in 1879.

No. 7. Two bright steel spurs, with five-pointed rowels, both in perfect preservation; 17th century.

No. 8. A pair of cavalier "jingle" spurs in brass, with ten-pointed steel rowels. The two pendent lobes of steel by striking against the rowel cause the "jingle" and give the name to the spur. 17th century.

No. 9. A very fine bright steel spur, with a flat five-pointed rowel. Early 17th century. It is quite perfect and has a most elegant buckle attached to it.

No. 10. Two rusty 17th century spurs, one of which, with buckle attached, was found (with a bandolier) in an old house, recently removed, which stood at the corner of Green Street and Trinity Street.

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No. 11. A pair of 17th century perforated spurs, jointed and hinged, one having its original buckle and strap attached to it.

No. 12. An iron spur, with very large eight-pointed rowel, retaining the original ornamented and saddle-shaped leather. This kind of spur was worn with the enormous top- or jack-boots at the end of the 17th century.

Mr Redfarn also exhibited a 15th century solleret, "à la poulaine," for the left foot, well articulated and in good preservation; three stirrups in chased and perforated iron, probably for a mule, 16th century; and a curious antique horse-shoe recently dug up near Park Side.

Mr O. Browning exhibited a 16th century Italian spur from Scurgola, which is hinged and jointed in a similar manner to those numbered 11 in the above collection.

Mr Beck exhibited and described

(i) Four specimens of copper ring-money, used by the Liverpool merchants in trading with the natives on the West Coast of Africa, and observed that similar rings of solid gold have been found in Ireland and in various parts of Scandinavia.

(ii) Sixteen silver-gilt studs of Gothic work, forming parts of various medieval belts worn in Iceland.

(iii) Three antique silver-gilt filagree ball pendants, from which are suspended representations of the Crucifixion and of St George and the Dragon.

Mr Bidwell exhibited a red Romano-British terra cotta vase, and a fragment of a *patera* in Samian ware, and of a *mortarium*, all which had lately been found in St Mary's parish, Ely, about one mile north-west from the Cathedral, and at a depth of one foot below the surface.

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LAWS.

I. THAT the Society be for the encouragement of the study of History, Architecture, and Antiquities; and that such Society be called "THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

II. That the object of the Society be to collect and to print information relative to the above-mentioned subjects.

III. That the subscription of each Member of the Society be *One Guinea* annually; such subscription be due on the first day of January in each year: on the payment of which he shall become entitled to all the Publications of the Society, during the current year.

IV. That any person who is desirous of becoming a Member of the Society, be proposed by two Members at any of the ordinary Meetings of the Society, and ballotted for at the next Meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, and Heads of Colleges, shall be ballotted for at the Meeting at which they are proposed.

V. That the management of the affairs of the Society be vested in a Council, consisting of a President, (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years,) three Vice-Presidents (of whom the Senior shall retire at each annual meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each Member of the Council shall have due notice of the Meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

VI. That the President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary Members of the Council shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary Members of the Council to retire annually.

VII. That no Member be entitled to vote at any General Meeting whose subscription is in arrear.

VIII. That, in the absence of the President, the Council at their Meetings shall elect a Chairman, such Chairman having a casting-vote in case of equality of numbers, and retaining also his right to vote upon all questions submitted to the Council.

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IX. That the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society be audited annually by two auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; and that an abstract of such accounts be printed for the use of the Members.

X. That the object of the usual Meetings of the Society be, to read communications, acknowledge presents, and transact miscellaneous business.

XI. That the Meetings of the Society take place once at least during each term: and that the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, be left to the discretion of the Council.

XII. That any member be allowed to compound for his future subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas*.

XIII. That Members of the Society be allowed to propose Honorary Members, provided that no person so proposed be either resident within the County of Cambridge, or a member of the University.

XIV. That Honorary Members be proposed by at least two Members of the Society, at any of the usual Meetings of the Society, and ballotted for at the next Meeting.

XV. That nothing shall be published by the Society, which has not been previously approved by the Council, nor without the author's name being appended to it.

XVI. That no alteration be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be given to all the Members; and that one month's notice of any proposed alteration be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the Members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

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CONTENTS

OF COMMUNICATIONS, No. XXIII.

Vol. V, Part I.

PAGE

I. On two remarkable engraved Gems of early Christian work. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 1

II. Account of the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by Walter K. Foster, Esq., F.S.A. (With 12 Plates.) 5

III. "Stampare a conio." How did the Romans strike their Medallions? Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 33

IV. On the portrait of Homer upon an unpublished coin of Nicaea in Bithynia. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College 41

V. On the earthen rampart at Perekop, at the entrance to the Crimea. Communicated by the Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D., Emmanuel College 47

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING,

MAY 22, 1882.

WITH APPENDIX.

Cambridge:
DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & CO.
G. BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.

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the Society

Received Apr. 10, 1884

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REPORT.

SINCE our last Annual Meeting in May, 1881, excursions have been organized by a Committee of the Society to Royston, Saffron Walden, and St Ives, which have been well attended and have produced interesting communications on the architectural and antiquarian features of each locality visited. In February of the present year the Rev. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., an Honorary Member of our Society, gave a lecture on Hadrian's Wall in North Britain, which was copiously illustrated by water-colour drawings and diagrams: and Mr J. W. CLARK has in two lectures given the Architectural History of Trinity College down to the end of the seventeenth century. Eighteen Papers have been read during the past year at the General Meetings of the Society, the attendance at which has proved the continuous and increasing interest felt in archaeological studies. Excavations have been carried on at Girton and at Great Chesterford, and the results have been exhibited and described at meetings of our Society; but the most remarkable discovery in this county during the present year has been

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at Wilburton, where on land belonging to Mr O. C. PELL, twelve swords, mostly with their scabbards, and one hundred and twenty-two spears were discovered last January.

Dr RAVEN'S *Bells of Cambridgeshire*, in the octavo series of our Publications, and the two delayed numbers of our Annual Reports and Communications for 1878-79 and 1879-80 have been issued to Members: a Supplement to Dr RAVEN'S *Bells of Cambridgeshire* is in the press, and the Reports and Communications for 1880-81 and for 1881-82 are, the former in type and the latter in preparation, as is also the new edition of Professor BABINGTON'S *Ancient Cambridgeshire*.

Fifty-nine new Members have been elected into the Society, which now numbers 274 Members; four have withdrawn, and three have been removed by death. By one of these, Mr T. H. NAYLOR, M.A., our Museum was lately enriched with several memorials of the STUART family. By the death of Dr FERDINAND KELLER, last July, in his 81st year, the Society has lost one of its most distinguished Honorary Members. He founded and from 1832 to 1871 was President of the Archaeological Society of Zürich, but he will be chiefly remembered in connexion with the Lake-Dwellings, the first recognition of which (at Ober-Meilen on the Lake of Zürich) in 1853 was due to his sagacity.

The following Institution has been admitted to an exchange of publications with our Society:

The United States Geological Survey, Washington, D.C. (Feb. 27, 1882).

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APPENDIX.

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CONTENTS OF APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Abstract of Proceedings during the year ending May 22, 1882 .	xxxv
II.	List of Council elected May 22, 1882	lv
III.	Summary of Accounts for the year ending Dec. 31, 1881 . .	lvi
IV.	List of Presents received during the year ending May 22, 1882 .	lvii
V.	Laws (revised Feb. 28, 1881)	lxii
VI.	List of Communications issued with the present Report . .	lxiv

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I. AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 22, 1882.

Nov. 14, 1881. The President (Rev. R. Burn) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

W. Austen Leigh, Esq., M.A., King's College.
Rev. E. J. Beck, M.A. (Clare Coll.), Rotherhithe Rectory.
W. Mc Oran Campbell, Esq., Bottisham Hall.
A. Deck, Esq., King's Parade.
A. N. Disney, Esq., B.A., Trinity College.
F. N. Fordham, Esq., Royston, Herts.
E. Freshfield, Esq., M.A. (Trinity Coll.), 5 Bank Buildings, London.
Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Deanery, Chester.
W. Lloyd, Esq., Myvod, Wednesbury.
G. T. Molecey, Esq., St Martin's, Stamford.
S. H. Vines, Esq., M.A., Christ's College.
Rev. C. Allix Wilkinson, M.A. (King's Coll.), Boxworth Rectory.

Mr Lewis read a paper by Mr C. W. King on two early Christian *intagli* of lapis lazuli, which had lately come from Alexandria, and passed into the cabinet of Mr Lewis. (See Communications, Vol. V, No. VIII.)

Prof. Hughes exhibited a bronze helmeted bust* from the Banks collection, upon which he offered the following remarks:

"It consists of the bust proper, seven inches high, the helmet, two inches high, and the crest, which stood one inch above the helmet. They were all separated, most likely owing to the decomposition of the solder which had originally held them together, as the ragged edge of the metal within the bust makes it improbable that the helmet was intended to be lifted off.

* Since bought by the Fitzwilliam Museum.

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The crest was found among some odds and ends in a sepulchral urn in the collection, but I feel sure that it belonged to the helmet. The pin on the under surface was not inserted into a hole in the helmet, but simply soldered on, and was intended to keep the crest raised above the helmet, as is common in many similar cases in the British Museum. The mark of the soldering can be detected on the helmet. The bust is that of a Roman Emperor; Mr King suggested that it represented Marcus Aurelius.

"The chief interest of the specimen is however in the helmet, which represents the face of a Gaul or Briton. The same character of face, the same lips and moustache may be seen in the statue of the Gaul in the Villa Ludovisi, on the Dying Gaul of the Capitol, or the earlier Pergamene sculpture. On the forehead is an ornament like the ring money of ancient Ireland or modern Africa; and behind that on either side above the ears are two snake-like figures. As it would not do to represent the hair in strong relief on a casque, it is merely indicated by a rough etching, which seems also used for shading on other parts of the face. The specimen is said to have been found near Cottenham, but unfortunately I am not in possession of the exact circumstances of the find. From the same district came the Earith bronze now in the British Museum, and various less important bronze objects in the Banks collection and elsewhere. It seems not improbable, therefore, unless these were spoil carried away from the Romans, that we may find by and by that there were stations and villas of considerable importance and wealth on the gently rising grounds that run into the Fen lands north of Cambridge. But as there is no place in the district where the public and market-folk can see what has been already found, we cannot expect to learn, except by accident, of any discoveries that may be made."

Dr Bacon shewed two vases or jugs of mediæval manufacture dug out recently at Ditton. One was unbroken, and had remains of a dark bluish colour, and was glazed. It was 10½ inches in height, the mouth had a diameter of 4 inches, and the greatest circumference was 23 inches. The other was of a light red colour and glazed, and had some yellow lines of ornamental tracery: the measurements of this were very nearly the same as the last. The capacity of each would be about 3½ pints. They were found in an old well which was being excavated, and at a depth of 18 feet. The red one was broken by the pick of the excavator. The vases belong to Mr Roe, of Cambridge, who kindly lent them for exhibition.

Mr Wilkinson exhibited a silver-gilt vase 25 inches high, enriched with repoussé work of the close of the 16th century. A shield on the inside of the cover bears the arms of the Austrian family of Mülich. Figures in relief representing Faith, Wisdom, and Justice adorn the lower part of the bowl: the cover is decorated with oval medallions, and surmounted by a Minerva in full armour.

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Mr J. E. Foster drew attention to the similarity between this vase and one in the South Kensington Museum, that had been attributed to Wentzel Jamnitzer of Nürnberg, and dated about 1534.

Mr T. H. Naylor exhibited and kindly presented to the Society a case containing six engravings, two bronze medals, a reprint of *Eikon Basilike*, and other memorials of the Stuarts. (See p. lvii.)

Mr Foster remarked that the portrait of Charles I. now in the vestry of S. Michael's Church in this town appeared to have been copied from the same original as one of those now given by Mr Naylor.

Mr F. N. Fordham exhibited two gold coins of James I, the one dating before, the other after his accession to the throne of England; they had been recently found near Royston.

Nov. 28, 1881. The President (Rev. R. Burn) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

J. J. Brigg, Esq., Trinity College.
L. Copeland, Esq., King's College.
G. M. Edwards, Esq., B.A., Sidney Sussex College.
Marshall Fisher, Esq., Lynn Road, Ely.
G. S. Gibson, Esq., Saffron Walden.
Rev. J. J. Halcombe, M.A., Balsham Rectory.
Rev. R. E. Hooppell, LL.D., Byers Green Rectory.
Rev. E. C. Ince, M.A., Sunbury House, Watford.
J. P. Postgate, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
R. Scriven, Esq., Trinity College.
A. Hamilton Smith, Esq., Trinity College.
Rev. K. A. Smith, The Cambridge Road, Ely.
C. Turner, Esq., 5 Park Terrace.

Dr Bryan Walker read a Communication on the units of measurement in Domesday, and began by referring to the variety of opinions about the size of a Norman *Hide*, the principal being (1) that it was about 240 modern statute acres; (2) that it was 100 or 120; (3) that it was unconnected with acreage and a mere assessment unit. In each of these views, he believed, an element of truth is contained. He shewed by tabulation of the Hides assigned to the Manors in Cambridgeshire, that the *average* hide would be throughout this county the same as calculation has made it in Lincolnshire, Dorset, Somerset, Salop, Sussex and Leicester, from 240 to 250 acres: that, however, it varied greatly in different hundreds, from 135 acres in the well-cultivated hundred of Chesterton to 474 in the woodland and marsh of Staplehow. By comparison of entries the *virgate* appears to be ¼ of the Hide, and equal to 30 acres. This apparent discrepancy arises

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from the fact that the virgate is ¼ of the *measured* part of the Hide, each Hide averaging 120 acres of measured land, *i.e.* of plough-land and enclosed meadow, and 120 acres more unmeasured but represented by its share in the common pasture. The hide was generally larger where woodland prevailed, the woodland being of little value; and the Hide was always an amount of land chargeable with six shillings of Danegeld.

He called attention to the two sorts of acres used in the survey, one five times as large as the other; to indications that the Juries of different hundreds used different acres in their reckonings; to the number of oxen in a team (eight); the amount of meadow considered adequate to maintain a team (5 to 8 acres), and the amount of wood denoted by "sufficient for so many swine," probably some 12 acres for each hog. (See Communications, Vol. V, No. IX.)

Professor Skeat made the following remarks upon points which Dr Walker had raised:—

The use of *centum* in the sense of 120 is paralleled by the use of the English word *hundred* in the same sense. There is a good instance of this in Fitzherbert's Book on Husbandry, where he speaks of a hundred of herrings, clearly meaning 120 from the remarks on the price of them. Again *terra*, in the sense of *arable* land, may be paralleled by the use of *land* in English. There is a good example in *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, where the term *land's end* has reference to the end of a field which is being ploughed. So also in the provincial English *headland* (also corrupted into *adland*), used of the end of a field where the horses turn, and which is last ploughed. The etymology of *hide* is given in my Etymological Dictionary, where I shew that it is connected with *hive*, in the old sense of "household," and has no connexion with *hide*, a *skin*, nor with the tale of queen Dido, who inclosed land with strips of skin.

Mr Bradshaw suggested that the variation in the amount understood by the term 'hide' might partly be accounted for by the fact, upon which Mr Frederic Seebohm laid great stress in his researches and discussions on this subject, that the hide was not a single piece of land, but a mass of often widely scattered pieces within the same manor. He mentioned a book which he had recently obtained from a collector at Liverpool on condition of its being placed in the University Library, which illustrated this. It was a *terrarium* or terrier of the *Campi occidentales Cantebrigiae*, and originally belonged to the University, though for some centuries in possession of Corpus Christi College. Here the actual holdings consisted of portions amounting to one or more *seliones*, a measurement which had been reduced to modern acreage by a later hand. The date of the book was about 1400; the date of the reduction to acreage was 1517. It appeared that, though a selion was, properly speaking, half an acre, there was no strict consistency, and five selions were by no means always five half-

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acres. Going back from this point as certain, it would follow that a still greater variation would be found in attempting to reduce a hide to modern acreage, seeing that the hide was made up of a multitude of these small holdings.

Dr Walker agreed with Mr Bradshaw's remarks as to the scattered character of arable land in three fields, subdivided into *quarentenae*, and these into *seliones*, and referred to a terrier of Landbeach which had been drawn up by Abp. Parker, when Master of Corpus, in 1549.

Professor Hughes, after alluding to the difficulty that we find in this country when we attempt to assign an exact date to fictile objects of any period later than Roman, with the exception of the Saxon cinerary urns, went on to lay before the Society the results of his enquiry into the age of certain vessels and tobacco-pipes which were found under one of the two large elms known as "the Sisters," which were blown down in the gale of Oct. 14, 1881, in the grounds of St John's College.

He referred to a paper lately communicated to the *Cambridge Review*, in which Mr J. W. Clark gave 1630 as the probable date of the laying out and planting of the grounds at the back of St John's. It was not necessary to assume that there were no trees on any part of the area previous to that time, nor on the other hand was it likely that all the trees planted subsequently to that date were planted at exactly the same time; still, considering all the evidence, he thought it almost certain that there were no trees then standing there of earlier date than that assigned by Mr Clark.

From an examination of the trees themselves however, and of the associated objects, he was inclined to reduce their age somewhat. Elm-trees might be expected to arrive at their full growth in about two centuries, but they might continue to develope their large roots much longer. On trying to determine this from an examination of the rings of growth many difficulties were met with. He could not count exactly the same number on all sides, nor always trace a ring round from one side to the other. At the centre, perhaps partly owing to arrested growth when the tree was transplanted, it was not easy to make them out; and round the margin, where their smaller width marked the declining vigour of the plant, they ran together and often could hardly be detected at all.

Taking the direction where they appeared to be most clear, and always where there was a doubt deciding in favour of the smaller number, he made out 218 rings. If we allowed 15 years for the last almost stationary period, and 10 for rings missed in counting and 5 for the young tree not represented in the centre, we should get 248 years as the age of the tree. But if we considered that the rings were fully and fairly counted, and that there had been no long stationary period at the end, and that what was allowed for the early period of growth and not shewn in the centre, where now sawn across, was more than compensated for by the age of the tree when

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transplanted to that spot, we might have to reduce the age of the tree's growth where it then lay within the 218 years, rather than extend it to 250. We were pretty safe, he thought, in referring them to the seventeenth century, but probably they belong to the latter half of it.

The soil on which the trees were planted was made ground consisting partly of clay, such as might have been thrown out in digging the adjoining ditch, and partly of rubbish from dwelling-houses. In this earth immediately under the trees various objects of domestic use had been found. Those to which he had been able to assign any approximate date from other sources agreed very well with the above estimate, and for the remaining more doubtful cases it was useful to have this record for future guidance. Several tobacco-pipes had been found, all belonging to the class with elongated bowls, constricted openings, and sometimes a milled margin. In one case there was a star or cruciform flower stamped on the spur. They were much like pipes referred to the time of Charles II. and approached in form those found in rubbish of the time of William III. It seemed probable that then, as in later times, it was usual to provide customers or guests with new clay pipes, and when these were at all blackened or broken to throw them away. He could not otherwise account for the great numbers of pipes found in old rubbish of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

There were several very different kinds of ware represented; among them the bottle-shaped jug known as a Bellarmine or grey beard, which would probably have reached this country from Cologne, or might possibly have been manufactured in Britain in the early part of the 17th century. Of the bright blue flowered stone ware, similar to that which was being so largely reproduced in recent times, he had not found any himself; and he felt that there was always a source of error in the possibility of there having been new earth dug in about the roots of the tree during its early period of growth.

There were several pans, pipkins and other vessels of different sizes and shapes, of red earthenware with a rough glaze. Vessels of this class range back to a very remote period, while they are also very like those used at the present day. They have all the common lead glaze. He did not feel sure that any of the objects had the salt glaze which came in during the last quarter of the 17th century. There were pieces of several gourd-shaped glass bottles with long necks, and one small piece of glass, which looked as if it had formed part of a stained glass window. On the whole it seemed to him that the objects probably belonged to the third quarter of the 17th century, and being an associated series with so much collateral evidence as to their date, he thought it would be interesting to keep them together for the present.

Professor Babington said that there is usually much difficulty in counting correctly the rings of annual growth in old trees, for many of the rings

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are extremely thin. It is only by following them successively as far as they are clearly seen, and then tracing the last ring thus seen round the stem, until a spot is arrived at where the succeeding rings are manifest, that one can really count them. This change of position has often to be made several times in old trees as we advance from the centre to the circumference. Season, exposure, the existence of large branches, modify the quantity of wood deposited on the several parts of the circumference of trees. Often the rings are very thick in one part, and very thin, so as to be nearly undistinguishable, in another part. The roots do not in any way affect the amount of wood deposited.

Dr Hooppell gave an account of the exploration recently made of the Roman Station of Binchester, near Bishop Auckland, on the estate of the Bishop of Durham, who had taken the greatest interest in the work, as had also his predecessor, Bishop Baring. Dr Hooppell said that the Roman name of the Station was *Vinovium*, of which there could be no doubt, as the distances in Antonine's *Itinerary* decisively fixed it. The great Roman road from York to the border of Scotland, called in the neighbourhood the Watling Street, ran right through the centre of the Station. A trench had been dug for more than a hundred yards along one side of the street, exposing the fronts of numerous extensive buildings, standing in some cases ten courses of stones in height, and presenting some very remarkable features. One point of especial interest was the discovery, in every part of the Roman town, of three horizons, or different levels of building, indicating three successive occupations of the fortress by the Romans, with intervals of abandonment and desolation between. Dr Hooppell's address was illustrated by a large number of beautifully executed painted representations of the remains, in which this fact was very strikingly brought out. Another singular feature was in connexion with the massive rampart, which encircled the Station. At the north-east corner, where it was found to be in admirable preservation, the wall was eight feet six inches in breadth, and beneath it, at one point, was an excellently constructed arched culvert, paved at the bottom; it was furnished on the outside with a huge stone, partially closing the orifice, and communicated with a channel, which led to a square chamber in the bottom of the fosse, the use of which had remained, to the present time, an unsolved mystery. Dr Hooppell described also a very perfect hypocaust with a large chamber above it, in which the flue-tiles when found were all in position, with decorated plaster upon them. In this chamber a statue of Flora, or Fortuna according to some authorities, had been broken in Roman times, and put to an ignominious use as a building stone in the time of Constantine. A most interesting votive tablet, dedicated to Aesculapius and Salus by the medical officer attached to the *ala* of Vettonian Dragoons, was also found in this neighbourhood. At some distance from the bath mentioned

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above, another bath was explored, of a circular shape. In this was found a very perfect strigil, and a number of coins of the earlier emperors.

The cost of the exploration had been borne by Mr John Proud, of Bishop Auckland, who had presented the whole of the small objects (and they formed a very fine collection) to the Durham University Museum. Among these objects was a small jasper intaglio, engraved with the heads of Bacchus and Silenus, Janus-wise, which was found on the spot, during the progress of the work, by the Rev. T. C. Tatham, B.A., of Trinity College; an engraving of it has been published in Mr Sandys's edition of the *Bacchae* of Euripides (Cambridge, 1880), at p. cxlviii.

Besides the coloured representations of the remains, Dr Hooppell exhibited very complete and carefully prepared plans of all the details of the Roman work discovered, which had been drawn by Mr J. W. Taylor, surveyor and architectural draughtsman, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. It is expected that the finest portions of the remains will shortly be roofed over and permanently preserved.

Professor Hughes suggested that the water-way under the rampart may have been the outfall of the baths. From the minerals which Dr Hooppell had ascertained to occur in it he thought that the water must have been warm. In that case the open tank below might well have been for general use for washing clothes and so on.

Mr A. G. Wright, of Newmarket, exhibited a leaf-shaped arrow-head found on the training-grounds, and a celt (measuring $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ in.) from Icklingham, which had taken this shape from natural causes, being a water-worn mass of *serpulae* from the Oxford clay.

Feb. 27, 1882. The President (Rev. R. Burn) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

W. B. F. Blunt, Esq., King's College.
J. Bryan, Esq., Thornles, Trumpington Road.
Professor E. C. Clark, LL.D., Trinity College.
Professor P. W. Latham, M.D., Downing College.
Rev. H. E. Maddock, M.A., Clare College.

The President introduced to the meeting Dr J. Collingwood Bruce, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, observing that probably most of the members present were aware of the prolonged study which Dr Bruce had devoted to the Roman wall, and of the important and elaborate work he had published about it. This great fortification, extending across from Carlisle to Newcastle, presented one of the grandest archaeological problems which Englishmen could consider.

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Dr BRUCE then proceeded to give a lecture, illustrated by numerous large coloured sketches, plans, and diagrams, upon the History and Present State of Hadrian's Wall in North Britain.

It was well known that Agricola came to Great Britain about A.D. 81 and advanced northward. Before proceeding to the conquest of Caledonia he established forts to secure his rear, in order that he might have supplies brought up. These forts were planted in the narrowest parts of the island between the Tyne and the Solway, where Hadrian afterwards built his wall. Remains of some of Agricola's camps were found in the line of Hadrian's wall. After Agricola was recalled, the country fell into disorder, and in the time of Hadrian that great emperor found it necessary to come to Britain himself, bringing his wife Sabina with him. His engineers seemed to be resolved on constructing a fortification stronger than that of Agricola. Hadrian not only planted forts between the two seas, but connected them together by a wall. Not that this wall was a mere defence to keep out the Caledonians; it was not. It was a line of military operation. In proof of this Dr Bruce referred to the numerous gateways leading northwards through the camps on the wall, and still further to the camps on the line of Roman road going into Caledonia.

Dr Bruce then showed a map of the course of the wall, and of the Tyne in relation to it, also of the river Eden, which joined the Tyne at the east end of the wall or "Wall's end," from which our best coal took its name at the present day. The river Eden was considered sufficiently strong as a means of fortification to render it unnecessary to extend the wall further in that direction. But at its mouth two forts were erected, and in their locality some very interesting results had been discovered. One of the forts was opposite Jarrow, the birthplace of the Venerable Bede. From this point the wall ran on to the high ground above and to the north of the Tyne valley, where agriculture could be most successfully conducted, and which, it seemed, the Romans wanted to secure. The wall was continued to Bowness, where the Solway ceased to be fordable.

The next subject to be considered was the plan of the wall. First of all, it was about eight feet thick. How high it had been was not known; it was now about 9½ feet in some places. Bede said it was 12½ feet high. He was probably speaking of it in his own neighbourhood. Camden said it was fifteen feet high; and another writer said twenty-one. The facing stones were of sandstone, very well squared to a uniform size and projecting well into the wall, so as to bind it well together. No tiles were needed. The mortar to this day was in some instances harder than the stone itself. To the north of the wall was a ditch, which in some places was about 6 feet deep and 15 feet across at the top. Stationary camps were planted at distances averaging four miles from one another, and varying in size from four to seven acres in extent. These camps usually had northern, southern, eastern and western gateways. The largest camps had two gateways on the

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eastern and western ramparts. In addition to the camps, there were at distances of a Roman mile square enclosures measuring about 60 feet a side; and now called "mile-castles." In all probability a number of soldiers were drafted off to occupy the spaces between the mile-castles for 24 hours, or for a week at a time. In addition to the mile-castles there were what were called 'turrets.' Dr Bruce himself called them stone sentry-boxes. These had been so much interfered with that he could not tell how many there had been. They were twelve feet square, and the walls were three feet thick; the Romans making everything very substantial. Running alongside the wall, and always on the south side, was a military road. (A sectional view of the wall was here shewn with the accompanying earthworks.) The general opinion was that the whole of the wall and the earthworks formed part of one design, and that the whole was to be ascribed to Hadrian, and that Severus repaired it. The next drawing shewed in section the abutment of a bridge crossing the Tyne at Cilurnum, now called Chesters. [It might be interesting to explain how the Latin names of these places were known at the present day. A sort of army-list (*Notitia*) had come down to our time from the end of the 4th and 5th centuries, giving the names of the officers throughout the Roman world and where they were located. One chapter of this book related to the wall; all the camps had been occupied by auxiliary troops commanded by Roman officers. Soldiers of different nationalities were never stationed together: on the other hand neighbouring stations were never occupied by troops of the same nationality.] In the river at Cilurnum could be seen, when the water was clear, the foundations of the piers of the bridge. The character of the masonry indicated that it had been constructed at two different periods of time. Drawing 2 shewed the remains of the gates of Cilurnum, with the holes in the stone still remaining in which the pivots of the gates used to turn. Drawing 3 gave an idea of the character of the ground over which the wall was carried in the central part of the district. A great basaltic dyke ran for 10 or 12 miles through the country in this neighbourhood. Here was part of an altar erected to Jupiter, and bearing the usual initials I. O. M. Near the station represented in this drawing was an amphitheatre, similar to those found at some other parts of the wall, and intended as a place of amusement for the soldiers. Drawing 4 shewed one of the great basaltic rocks over which the wall ran. Some people asked what could have been the use of carrying the wall over such a rock. The late Earl of Carlisle had remarked to him, whilst they were exploring the locality together, that he thought it was a kind of red-tapism that prompted the Romans to carry this wall on without a break, whether wanted or not. Drawing 5 shewed "The Nine Nicks of Thurlow." These were nicks in the mountainous chain of rocks, the wall running pertinaciously over each of them. The interior of the wall was well made of rubble, but the facing was always freestone. Drawing 7 represented the northern fosse of the wall. Some

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of the enormous stones lying about had been split by wedges inserted into where the veins of quartz ran through the stone. Three of the stones shewn in the picture had originally been one, and the whole mass must have weighed 13 tons. In another stone the holes had been made, ready for the insertion of the wedges, but it had not been split. In some of the mile-castles the level of the floor had been raised, and in making excavations traces of devastation were found, and marks of fire. It seemed as if the soldiers had been driven out for a time, and that the invaders had burnt everything combustible; and that, when the soldiers regained possession, they did not trouble themselves to clear out the ashes and *débris*, but laid down a second floor on the top. At one place had been found a lady's ear-drop, a gentleman's finger ring, and a coin of Commodus. They knew that in the reign of Commodus (180—192 A.D.) the Caledonians made an irruption on the wall, sacked one of the Roman stations, and killed one of the commanders. They fancied that the commander had been retreating with his wife when he was killed, and hence the discovery of the jewellery. Dr Bruce next showed some drawings of altars found at different stations on the wall, some gravestones, and some other stone objects. On one slab of stone was carved a representation of Ceres, and some ladies had remarked that the goddess was dressed in the fashion of the present day, or rather in a fashion which was now just going out. Here was a figure of Victory, a female careering over the earth with outstretched wings, her garments flying behind her; she bore in one hand a palm, and in the other a laurel wreath. In concluding, Dr Bruce incidentally observed that the little Lady who held the sceptre of England at the present day, commanded a world much larger than any of the Cæsars ever did.

The Chairman remarked that they had been almost surprised at the extremely wide and accurate knowledge of the Roman wall possessed by Dr Bruce. He seemed to know every stone of it by heart.

Dr Bruce called attention to a number of drawings of coins referring to Biblical History, which had been taken by photography. The first process was to make a copy of the coin in plaster of Paris. The coins themselves could not easily be photographed in consequence of the glinting of the light and the dark specks which appeared here and there. The plaster copy was photographed, and then a strong light was passed through the negative, by which the image of the coin was magnified and projected on to a screen and again photographed.

Professor Babington rose to say a few words to express his thanks and those of the meeting to Dr Bruce for his extreme kindness in bringing all these carefully executed diagrams to illustrate his lecture. They all knew that Dr Bruce's knowledge of the wall was beyond that of any person living, that he had studied it with the utmost care, and had published a work which had as great a reputation as any person could wish for, a work

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which might be said to be a complete, final and conclusive monograph of the subject. No doubt other things would be exposed by further excavations, but he could not help believing that up to the present time no very essential point had been discovered, which was not laid down already in the beautiful map, that had been prepared by Dr Bruce, and published at the expense of the Duke of Northumberland. It was remarkable that in this country we should have such a work as the Wall. Possibly some persons present had for the first time been made aware of its immense extent and bulk by the vivid description that they had just listened to. It was certainly a work such as not many countries could boast of possessing. There were a few similar walls elsewhere, but he was not aware that any one of them had been examined in such perfect detail as this one. Dr Bruce did not mention that there was a wall, not exactly similar to Hadrian's, but a line of fortifications, drawn across the narrow part of Scotland. There was no masonry in it, but it had been a very strong fortification. The theories which had been started about the wall were undoubtedly numerous, and it had been stated by many antiquaries, before Dr Bruce's researches were undertaken, that the earthwork was a work separate from the wall. But that theory he thought had been shewn to be a mistake. In addition to the vote of thanks he had moved, he would also move that Dr Bruce be asked to honour the Society by allowing his name to be enrolled among its Honorary Members.

Dr Luard seconded the proposal, and said that it had always appeared to him a remarkable fact in the history of antiquity that we should know so little of the Roman occupation, which lasted for four centuries—a period as long as from the Wars of the Roses to the present time. They saw strikingly the power that the Romans had of adapting their work for whatever purpose it was intended.

Dr Pearson referred to the somewhat similar Roman wall in Southern Germany, and supported the resolution, which was cordially agreed to.

Dr Bruce briefly expressed his extreme obligation to those present for having listened to him so long, and said he felt very highly honoured by the proposal to record his name as one of the honorary members of this distinguished institution.

March 13, 1882. The President (Rev. R. Burn) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

J. E. Sandys, Esq., M.A., St John's College, Public Orator.
A. P. Allsopp, Esq., Trinity College.
E. M. Beloe, Esq., St. Ann's, Lynn Regis.
G. F. Blake, Esq., Corpus Christi College.

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A. B. Bullock, Esq., Trinity College.
Edm. Foster, Esq., Junior, Lexham Gardens, London, S.W.
Major C. H. Gardner, Hills' Road.
S. R. Ginn, Esq., 64 St Andrew's Street.
H. Johnson, Esq., 18 Trumpington Street.
O. Johnson, Esq., University Library.
J. J. W. Livett, Esq., St John's College.
E. J. Mortlock, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
O. Papworth, Esq., 9 St Andrew's Hill.
W. Ridgeway, Esq., B.A., Gonville and Caius College.
O. Salvin, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Trinity Hall.
Rev. E. C. Selwyn, M.A., King's College.
J. V. Smedley, Esq., M.A., Corpus Christi College.
H. T. Stearn, Esq., M.A., King's College.

Mr Marshall Fisher exhibited and described a vase of red terra-cotta, 6¾ in. high, together with other Roman pottery in fragments and horse-bones, from Downham Field, about a mile and a half to the north of Ely Cathedral: the vase was discovered about 18 inches below the surface during drainage-operations on land in the occupation of Mr W. Pate.

Professor Hughes described some fragments of Roman pottery and other objects exhibited by Mr W. W. Cordeaux, who communicated the following remarks.

They had been found at the depth of three feet in Humber deposit at Great Cotes in North-East Lincolnshire by workmen, who were under-draining old pasture-land. Along with the pottery were sawn bones, pieces of glass, and some very curious tube-like formations in considerable masses, which Professor Hughes explained to have been produced by concretionary action around roots of plants, also shells of the common cockle. Beds of ashes were also passed through, but these may have been of more recent date. The field, known by the name of the Little Nooks Close, adjoins the bank of a very old drain, called the Old Fleet, which formerly, as now, received the drainage of some portion of the Lincolnshire Wolds. It is situated within an old embankment, erected as a barrier against the Humber, but now within the bounds of a more distant and recent earth-work, at a considerable distance from any house. At the time this pottery was in use, the drain must have been a large creek with sloping mud-banks bordered by "filtie" lands (local term for land beyond the sea-embankments overgrown with sea-living plants and occasionally flooded at high water), for such was once the condition of much of the lowlands in this district bordering the sea. The Romans no doubt used this creek as a convenient harbour up which to run and beach their vessels, and disembark their cargoes for transport to the nearest station at Stallingborough, distant as the crow flies a mile and a half, whence the goods could be further trans-

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ported inland to the different settlements and camps on the wolds. The author did not think that the fragments discovered belong to pottery made on or near the spot, but they were probably the refuse of cargoes thrown overboard as rubbish. Stallingborough was a third-rate Roman station, Roman coins having been found there. We know that Offa there held his court, and that it was a place of importance in the palmy days of the Mercian kingdom, and if it was a place of importance in those days the probabilities are that it was a Roman station, since the old English preferred to occupy Roman settlements rather than to found fresh places for themselves. Pottery similar to this is found at Worlaby, South Kelsey, and many other places in North Lincolnshire, the style and kind almost if not quite peculiar to this part of the country; occasionally we find in conjunction with it fragments of rough sun-dried pottery, the clay of which has been mixed with pounded calc-spar.

Mr Reade said he had been disappointed in his hope of laying before the Society a complete monograph of the Minster-Church at Aachen, but such facts as he had been able to collect he would proceed to narrate. The church was in historical interest quite unrivalled by any building north of the Alps, and as an architectural landmark stood alone, having been completed in the year 804. Its prototype must be looked for in the churches of the Exarchate, and particularly in S. Vitale at Ravenna. There is no doubt that it was largely the work of Italian artists. The architect was probably Ansigis, Abbot of Fontenelle near Rouen. In general design it bears a considerable resemblance to S. Sepulchre's Church, Cambridge, which was built 300 years later; but it is on a far larger scale. The whole of the interior was covered with mosaics, which were destroyed in the great fire in 1656. Mr Reade exhibited an interesting engraving made before the fire, and shewing the then disposition of the exterior. The tall 14th century choir was added by the Burgomaster Gerhard Chorus, and is a work of great lightness and bold design. The Octagon is surrounded by small chapels, and Mr Reade gave detailed information as to the original destination of these. He also exhibited "restorations" of the original work given to him by Mr Rhoen, architect, of Aachen; who had also presented him with some of the original mosaic cubes used by Charlemagne's artists, which he had the pleasure of shewing to the Society. The bronze doors and railings to the Triforium were at least as old as the building itself. The temples of Italy had been laid under contribution, and had supplied this church with many polished marble columns of beautiful workmanship. The church was formerly connected with the Palace by a vaulted arcade. The great emperor, Karl, who founded the church, was buried within its precincts, but the precise spot was unknown. In the year 1000 A.D. his tomb was opened by Otto III, but Mr Reade gave strong reasons for the belief that the poetical descrip-

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tion of the opening of the tomb was incorrect. His bones were exhumed 352 years after his death. Much of the furniture of the cathedral was of extraordinary interest, particularly the marble throne, upon which thirty-seven Emperors were installed; the pulpit, which was a gift of Henry II, and is one mass of gold, jewels, and antique ivory carvings; and the corona, given by Frederic Barbarossa, which is richly gilded and enamelled. The whole church was deserving of far more careful study than it had yet received. (See Communications, Vol. V, No. X.)

Professor Clark observed that he could confirm Mr Reade's remarks as to the structural resemblance between this church and that of S. Vitale at Ravenna from his recent studies at both places.

Mr Fawcett mentioned that, when he was at Aachen some years ago, he had a better opportunity of looking at the beautiful vessels containing the reliques: they were then in a chapel on the northern side of the triforium, and could be seen on special application. A private inspection could not be obtained when Mr Reade was there, owing to the occurrence of the septennial festival.

March 20, 1882. The President (Rev. R. Burn) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

John Death, Esq., Mayor of Cambridge.
R. Hall Grubbe, Esq., Trinity College.
T. Harley Jones, Esq., M.A., St John's College.
F. A. Russell, Esq., High School, Harlesden.

Mr J. W. Clark then proceeded to deliver a lecture on "The description and history of the site of Trinity College," illustrated by diagrams made by the late Professor Willis. The substance of this Lecture will be found in Professor Willis's Architectural History of the University, &c., Trinity College, Chapter I.

Alluding to Professor Willis's opinion, as stated by Mr Clark, that *Garyte* signified a high tower, and was the origin of our present word *garret*, Professor Skeat said he was able to confirm that opinion.

Professor Hughes asked the lecturer's opinion as to the old tradition of "Mutton hole" and its connection with "Merton hall."

Mr Clark said he did not believe that "Mutton hole" had anything to do with Merton College at all. It was called "Mutton hole" from the earliest times. Quite early after the foundation of the college there was a chamber called Mutton hall. It afterwards got corrupted into Merton hall, and afterwards further corrupted into Mutton hole.

After some further conversation, on the motion of Professor Babington a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr Clark.

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May 8, 1882. Professor Babington in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

T. H. Hills, Esq., 60 St Andrew's Street.
S. L. Loney, Esq., B.A., Sidney Sussex College.
G. A. Matthew, Esq., M.A., 7 Park Terrace.
E. Nash, Esq., Royston.

Mr Lewis exhibited on behalf of the Mayor, Mr Death, two yellow vases ($5\frac{1}{4}$ in. and $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. high) that had been found during excavations in King Street last July at the depth of nine feet; they probably belong to the latter part of the 15th century, and are notable for the unusual perfection of the glaze. The ground appeared to have remained undisturbed for many years.

Professor J. E. B. Mayor, in the course of some remarks on "A marsupial in Cambridge in 1700," said "In a note on Lucian's *Vera Historia* I. 24, Moïse Du Soul (Solanus, as he called himself; Soulius, as he is also called by Reitz and Gesner) tells us that a live marsupial was exhibited here in 1700. He also cites Aelian *De Natura Animalium* I. 17, where the 'sea-dog' *κύων θαλαττία* is said to give shelter to her whelps when danger approaches. Jacobs cites various authorities, the chief of which is Ambrose *hexaëmeron* v. § 7. These describe e. g. dolphins and seals as marsupial.

Passing from the spectacle to the spectator, Du Soul, I find that he is unknown to almost all biographers. Meagre notices in Haag *La France Protestante* and in Nichols' *Lit. Anecd.* IV. 286 are the only voices of the *vates sacer* to do him justice. He was grandson of Paul du Soul of Tours, Rector of the Academy of Saumur in 1657 and 1661. He fled from persecution; was in Cambridge (possibly drawn by the fame of Bentley) in 1700; A. M. per regias litteras 1701 (the year when Bentley was Vice-Chancellor); in 1702 a dissertation from his pen on the style of the New Testament was inserted in the *syntagma* of Rhenferd; in February 1708 he published at Cambridge a specimen of an edition of Lucian; in 1720 he sent his collections for Lucian to the Wetsteins; in 1722-23 we find him at the Hague; in 1722 he published at Amsterdam a French translation of Prideaux' Connexion; after the death of Augustine Bryan of Trinity he was engaged by Tonson to complete his edition of Plutarch's lives (London 1724-29, 5 vols. 4to). At that time he was living in the country. He lived to 1733 or beyond that year.

He has many allusions to events and persons and manners of the day; the *dragonnades*; a learned Syrian traveller, Theochari Dadichi, at the Hague at the end of 1722; John Ernest Schotts, a soldier who had served under Charles Gustavus of Sweden (1654-60), was born 12 March 1608 and died in Febr. 1723, having been a pensioner for more than fifty years, and walking to the last from Riswijck to the Hague every Sunday to attend

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the Lutheran church; John Laughton, librarian of Trinity; James Upton; Richard Mead; William Sherlock; John Law of Lauriston; John Asgill; Ezekiel Spanheim; William Lloyd, bishop of Worcester; Thomas Irson, the Maskelyne of the day, who contrived a wooden head that would answer questions put to it in any language; the custom of drinking healths, *à propos* of a scholion *προπίνω σοι τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας*; hour-glasses in pulpits; men employed as ladies' maids, a fashion introduced by 'that disgrace of our age, Christina of Sweden'; Swiss porters; pilgrims to the Holy Land tattooed with the Holy Sepulchre, the crucifix, etc.; dumb-bells used by leapers in Scotland; magical virtue ascribed to the fat of bodies hung on the gallows; a butterfly giving signs of life seven days after losing its head." (See Communications, Vol. V, No. XI.)

Mr Griffith exhibited a series of rude pottery rings of two distinct types, found near the river at Harston and Barrington, which appeared to belong to the Roman period, and which he suggested might have been intended for sinking nets. He compared them with rings of the same two types found in the Swiss Lake-Dwellings, which have been supposed to be stands for round-bottomed vessels: of these rings Mr Lewis exhibited four, which he had brought with other pottery fished up from the Lakes of Bienne and Neuchâtel.

Mr Jenkinson gave some account of the further discoveries made at Girton in September last. The traces of the Roman period had culminated in a rubbish-pit, which contained below broken urns of Roman fabric several fragments of sculpture in oolite. He exhibited a lion's head[1], about the size of life, which showed good work, and which in spite of pieces knocked off the nose still looked not unimposing; and the *torso* of a military figure that had stood about four feet high; the broad collar, the belt, the close-fitting coat, apparently of metal, and a short kilt-like garment peeping from under it were clearly visible: one arm had been raised.

Large numbers of Saxon urns had continued to occur, a diagram showing upwards of seventy in an area 50 feet square. One had been made with a square piece of thick glass in the bottom, for what purpose was not known: a similar one, but smaller, had been procured from Haslingfield by Mr Walter K. Foster. The glass when looked through had a granular appearance, which might be due to the changes of temperature it would have to undergo when the urn was being baked and again when the hot ashes were placed in contact with it. There was nothing remarkable in the position or contents of this urn, which had lost all the upper portion.

[1] Figured at p. 40 in the second edition of Professor Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge, 1883. On p. 39 of the same work are shown the glass vessels found in two Roman graves at Girton (*Abstract of Proceedings*, 1880-81, p. xxi); but the vase shown on p. 38 came from Gravel Hill Farm and is the one mentioned on p. 36.

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This was also the case with another especially interesting urn, upon which appeared the ubiquitous *swastika* stamped in plain cup-shaped punchmarks on the bottom externally: the singular position assigned to this mark, which had otherwise not been observed among the forms of ornamentation occurring on this pottery, seemed to show that it had some special significance[1].

Three spindle-whorls had been found, one of stone and two of bone; two faceted crystal beads, shivered in the fire; and an implement of bone, consisting of two narrow pieces an inch and a half long, held parallel and six inches apart by a broad brace behind and two narrow ones in front, rigidity being secured by two rivets at either end[2]. The two pieces first mentioned had each two deep notches on their inner edge, the lower of which notches was continuous in outline with a shallow depression cut in the edge of the braces. More beads and brooches had been found; and also a bronze basin[3], of the usual Saxon type, in company with a bronze-hooped pail: these lay on either side of a body.

The cemetery appeared now to have been completely explored; and, although a certain poverty was observable among the objects found as compared with those from graves at Barrington and other places in the county, what there was had been investigated under unusually favourable circumstances. Had it been necessary to carry away at the time all that was found, a comparatively small number of these interesting urns would have survived the journey.

It was impossible and undesirable to enumerate in detail the discoveries and the observations that had been made; but from the finding of the first grave on the 25th of March, 1881, a minute diary had been kept, in which the bearings of every grave were recorded, as well as the position of everything it contained; and as such a diary might be interesting and valuable for comparison with the results of excavations in similar cemeteries elsewhere, it would probably sooner or later be printed in full.

[1] There is in the Museum at Bury St Edmunds a large Saxon urn from Redgrave, of coarse workmanship; below the usual horizontal lines on the shoulder are five large equidistant bosses, between each of which are three *swastikas* in a horizontal row. They are about half an inch in diameter, remarkably larger than the other punch-marks, which are of two kinds, one plain cup-shaped, the other a circular depression containing a cross in relief.

[2] Pronounced by Mr A. W. Franks to be a comb-case; a similar one with the comb in it is exhibited in the new Anglo-Saxon room at the British Museum (1883).

[3] When this basin was lifted afterwards, a layer of bracken fern, on which it had been laid, was clearly visible, some of the fronds having been preserved by the superincumbent metal. A photograph was taken, but was not very successful.

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May 22, 1882. Forty-second Annual General Meeting. The President (Rev. R. Burn) in the chair.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President:—Rev. R. Burn, M.A.
Vice-President:—Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D.
Treasurer:—W. M. Fawcett, Esq., M.A.
Secretary:—Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A.

New Members of Council:—
Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D.
Henry Bradshaw, Esq., M.A.
F. C. Wace, Esq., M.A.
C. Bendall, Esq., M.A.

Auditors:—Swann Hurrell, Esq.
F. C. Wace, Esq.

The following were elected Honorary Members:

M. Alexandre Bertrand, Keeper of the Museum at St Germain.
Dr Emil Hübner, Professor of Archaeology at Berlin.
Commendatore G. B. de Rossi, Rome.

The Annual Report mentioned the excursions that had been organized since last October to Royston, Walden and St Ives, and enumerated several volumes recently issued or far advanced towards publication. Since last October fifty-nine new members had been elected into the Society, which had now 274 names on its roll. Allusion was made to recent discoveries of pottery, glass and other antiquities at Girton, and Great Chesterford, and especially of bronze implements[1] at Wilburton.

Mr Lewis read a paper by Mr C. W. King upon an antique cameo of agate-onyx (of which a cast was exhibited) measuring 8 in. × 7 in.: the bust engraved upon it was identified by the flowing and massy curls, by the *aegis*, and especially by the prominent forehead wreathed with chestnut-leaves, as Jupiter of Dodona, under which type it was added that a portrait of the emperor Antoninus Pius may possibly be adumbrated. (See Communications, Vol. V, No. XII.)

Dr Bryan Walker exhibited a Terrier of Landbeach drawn up in 1549 by order of Matthew Parker, who was then Master of Benet College and Rector of Landbeach.

[1] A paper on these implements was read to the Society of Antiquaries by Dr J. Evans (20 April, 1882) and will be published in the *Archaeologia*.

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Mr Jenkinson exhibited two Roman rings from Chesterford. One of these (fig. 1) was of brass; and the device, a mask, was embossed upon a thin plate of metal, which had been soldered to the ring. The other

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

(fig. 2) was of iron, and exhibited in two places a simple form of decoration; the metal being worked to resemble two ends meeting, one of which is forked to receive the other which tapers, and a few transverse lines convey the appearance of binding or lashing.

From a rubbish-pit recently encountered by the gravel-diggers several pieces of pottery were shown as specially interesting in form. A Samian saucer, having an upright inner rim and in addition to this another rim or horizontal ledge projecting outwards, was the first complete specimen of the kind that had been obtained; and it was suggested that the outer rim was original to the design, the inner one being a development to increase the capacity. The potter's mark was CONSTAS. The bottom of a Samian saucer was also shown, which, after the upper part was gone, had had the fractured edges ground down, apparently to be inverted and used as a small cup. It showed a potter's name apparently unpublished, SATINVS. The only other vessel worthy of notice was of shining black ware, about six inches high. The upper part was concave in outline: there was a sharp angle between this curve and a short horizontal line inwards, from which the lower part springs with a convex outline to the base. As is usually the case in this type, the thinness of the lower part was remarkable when compared with the solidity of the upper part.

The rubbish-pit which furnished these objects had not yet been worked out, but its contents were singular. Three human skeletons occurred, whose position proved them to belong to the Roman time. The brass ring above described lay close to the head of one of them. A layer of burnt wood lined the whole width of the pit at a low level; and the fragments of an *amphora* formed an adjacent layer almost as extensive.

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II. LIST OF COUNCIL ELECTED MAY 22, 1882.

*[Those marked * continue members of Council from last year.]*

President.

Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College, *Trinity Praelector in Roman Literature and Archaeology.*

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museums of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College, *Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *University Registrary.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary, and Librarian.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

*JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

*ALFRED PAGET HUMPHRY, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Esquire Bedell.*

*GEORGE MACKENZIE BACON, Esq., M.A., M.D.

*CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

*FREDERICK WHITTING, Esq., M.A., King's College.

*GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

*THOMAS McKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

*FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Librarian.*

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, Esq., M.A., St John's College, *Esquire Bedell.*

CECIL BENDALL, Esq., M.A., Gonville and Caius College.

Curator.

F. J. H. JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Excursion Secretary.

N. C. HARDCASTLE, Esq., B.A., Downing College.

Auditors.

F. C. WACE, Esq., M.A. SWANN HURRELL, Esq.

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III. SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1881.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance, 1880				262	10	8
Subscriptions				171	3	0
Life Members				63	0	0
Sale of publications:						
Messrs Deighton, Bell & Co.	4	2	0			
" Macmillan & Bowes	5	15	1			
Members	1	11	10			
				11	8	11
G. E. R. Deb. Stock interest				7	16	6
" sale of Stock				220	17	6
Due to Treasurer				6	17	0
				£743	13	7

Payments.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Octavo Publications, No. XVII:						
University Press				30	3	3
Octavo Publications, No. XVIII:						
University Press	108	17	4½			
Messrs Bonnewell	0	14	9			
				109	12	1½
Report and Communications, No. XXI:						
University Press				139	13	0
Report and Communications, No. XXII:						
University Press (for printing)	80	5	4½			
" (illustrations)	112	17	3			
Messrs Cowell "	3	10	0			
Indexing, etc.	1	18	6			
				198	11	1½
List of Members (University Press)				3	7	0
Miscellaneous Printing				7	10	9
Library, for binding and small purchases				8	12	0
Fittings in temporary museum				12	0	6
Stationery, wages, carriage and postage				4	3	4
Purchase of Great Eastern Stock				230	0	6
				£743	13	7

Examined and found correct April 8, 1882.

F. C. WACE
SWANN HURRELL } *Auditors.*

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IV. LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 19, 1882.

ANTIQUITIES, &c.

From Marshall Fisher, Esq., Ely:

Photograph of a Roman red terra-cotta vase lately found in Downham Field, Ely.

From T. H. Naylor, Esq.:

A portfolio containing six photographs of ancient furniture in the possession of the Donor.

A glass case containing memorials of the Stuart family, as follows:

(1) An engraved portrait, most extraordinary so far as costume is concerned, of the first King James, when king of Scotland only.

(2) A contemporary portrait of the Earl of Strafford.

(3) Portraits of Prince Rupert and Lord Falkland.

(4) A celebrated engraving (by Faithorn) of a portrait of King Charles (by Vandyke).

(5) A portrait of Prince Henry, painted in oil upon tortoise-shell, but of no great artistic value: the brass frame must have been carved by a first-rate worker in that metal.

(6) A copy of the allegorical frontispiece by W. Marshall, from the first edition of Eikon Basilikê.

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(7) A portrait of King Charles, carved in tortoise-shell.

(8) A silver-gilt medal of King Charles.

(9) An enamelled portrait of the unfortunate Anne of Denmark.

(10) A silver medal of Oliver Cromwell, and two bronze medals, of Mary II, rev. EX NOCTE DIEM, and Anne, rev. COMPOSITIS VENERANTVR ARMIS. MDCCXIII.

BOOKS.

A. From various donors:

From Daniel G. Brinton, Esq., M.D.:

The books of Chilan Balam, the prophetic and historic records of the Mayas of Yucatan. By the Donor.

From Lucien Carr, Esq., Assistant Curator of the Peabody Museum:

Extract (on Archaeology) from Vol. VIII, Part 1 of Lieut. Wheeler's Report on United States Geographical Surveys west of the 100th meridian.

Observations on the Crania from the Santa Barbara islands, California. 4to.

On the Palaeolithic implements of the valley of the Delaware.

From Miss Dunkin, Dartford:

Notes on the Antient and Modern History of Springhead. Gravesend, 1851.

From T. Hughes, Esq., Chester:

Journal of the Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society for the County and City of Chester. Parts X. and XI. 1876.

The Cheshire Sheaf. Parts 1—13, 1878—81. 4to.

From T. Kerslake, Esq., 14 West Park, Bristol:

Caer Pensauelcoit, a long lost un-romanized British Metropolis.

From H. Phillips, Esq., Ph.D., of Philadelphia, honorary member of the Society:

A Glimpse into the Past. By the Donor.
Nine American Ballads (each on a loose sheet).
Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico, tomo 11, entrega 2ª.
Old-time Superstitions. By the Donor.
Remarks upon a coin of Sicyon.

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B. From Societies, etc., in union for the exchange of publications:

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (C. K. Watson, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.):
   List of the Society, June 2, 1881. 8vo.

2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (A. Hartshorne, Esq., *Secretary*, 16 New Burlington Street, London, W.):
   The Archaeological Journal (Vol. xxxviii.), Nos. 148 A, 151, 152, 153. 8vo.

3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretaries*, A. Paxon, Esq., 4 North Road, Surbiton, and E. J. Wells, Esq., Sandown House, Mallinson Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):
   Nothing received this year.

4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (F. S. Pulling, Esq., M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 69 Walton Street, Oxford):
   Nothing received this year.

5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (R. Fitch, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Norwich):
   Original Papers, Vol. ix, part ii, with Visitation of Norfolk, Vol. ii, 4th portion, and conclusion of Pedes Finium. 8vo.

6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology (S. J. Harrison, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Bury St Edmunds):
   Nothing received this year.

7. The Essex Archaeological Society (H. W. King, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Leigh Hill, Leigh, Essex):
   Nothing received this year.

8. The Kent Archaeological Society (Rev. Canon W. A. Scott Robertson, M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Whitehall, Sittingbourne):
   Nothing received this year.

9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (R. Crosskey, Esq., *Hon. Librarian*, Lewes):
   Nothing received this year.

10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (P. B. Hayward, Esq., *Curator*, Cathedral Yard, Exeter):
    Nothing received this year.

11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (W. F. Freer, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Stonygate, Leicester):
    Nothing received this year.

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12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, *General Secretary*, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):

Reports and papers during the year 1880. Lincoln, 1881. 8vo.

13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (C. T. GATTY, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, 18 Pelham Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool):

Nothing received this year.

14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:

Nothing received this year.

15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (THE SECRETARIES, the Old Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):

Archaeologia Aeliana, part 25, vol. IX (new series), 1882. 8vo.

16. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, *Treasurer*, Melksham, Wilts):

Archaeologia Cambrensis, nos. 46, 47, 48, 49. London, 1881-82. 8vo.

17. The Powys-Land Club (M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Gungrog, Welshpool):

Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. XIV, parts ii, iii, and Vol. XV, part i. (No. 30). London, 1881-82. 8vo.

General Index to the first fourteen volumes of Montgomeryshire Collections. 8vo.

18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (ARTHUR COX, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Mill Hill, Derby):

Journal of the Society, Vol. IV. London, 1882. 8vo.

19. The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (Rev. F. GRAVES, A.B., *Hon. Secretary*, Inisnag, Stonyford, co. Kilkenny):

Journal, Vol. V (fourth series), Nos. 45, 46, 47, 48 (1879-82). Dublin, 1882. 8vo.

20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (M. E. NICARD, *Archiviste*, Musée de Louvre, Paris):

Nothing received this year.

21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. NICOLAYSEN, Sekretær, Kristiania):

Nothing received this year.

22. The Royal University of Christiania (Mr C. HOLST, *Director of the Foreign Literary Exchange of Norway*):

Nothing received this year.

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23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique of Russia (M. le Comte Serge Stroganoff, *President*, St Petersburg):
    Rapport sur l'activité de la commission impériale archéologique pour les années 1878 et 1879. 4to.

24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr Et. A. Coumanoudis, *γραμματεύς*, Athens):
    Πρακτικά, 1880 and 1881. 8vo.

25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. Putnam, Esq., *Curator*):
    Fourteenth annual Report of the Trustees. 8vo.

26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (Spencer F. Baird, Esq., *Secretary*):
    Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1879. 8vo.

27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. Phillips, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 304 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):
    Report of the proceedings of the Society for 1881. 8vo.

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V. LAWS.

(*Revised Feb.* 28, 1881.)

I. This Society shall be called The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture and Antiquities, to meet for the discussion of these subjects, and to collect and print information relative thereto.

III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be *One Guinea* annually, such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year; on the payment of which sum he shall become entitled to all the publications of the Society during the current year.

IV. A member shall be allowed to compound for his future annual subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas;* or, after the payment of fifteen annual subscriptions, by the payment of five guineas.

V. If the annual subscription of any member be twelve months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it, and if it be not paid within one month, a second application shall be made for it, and if that is not attended to within one month, a notice of the same shall be suspended in the Society's usual place of meeting, and the Secretary shall inform the member thereof: if the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of two years from the time when it became due, the name of such person shall be announced at the next Annual General Meeting as having been struck off the list of the Society.

VI. No Member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for (according to Law V), shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.

VII. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the Society shall be proposed by two members at any of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of this University shall be balloted for at the meeting at which they are proposed.

VIII. Honorary Members may be proposed with the sanction of the Council by at least two members of the Society at any of the usual meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting. No person shall be so proposed who is either resident within the county of Cambridge or a member of the University. Honorary Members shall receive all the current publications of the Society.

IX. In the voting by ballot for the election of members and honorary members one black ball in four shall exclude.

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X. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

XI. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary members of the Council to retire annually.

XII. At the Meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary member of the Council then present. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of numbers, retaining also his own right to vote upon all questions submitted to the meeting.

XIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIV. The Meetings of the Society shall take place once at least during each term: the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

XV. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode: and one month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 Silver Street, Cambridge.

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

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VI. LIST OF COMMUNICATIONS (No. XXIV) ISSUED WITH THE PRESENT REPORT, BEING PART II OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

PAGE

VI. Notes on four series of Palaeolithic Implements from South Africa. By Mr JOHN C. RICKARD, Cambridge. Communicated, with remarks, by A. F. GRIFFITH, Esq., B.A., Christ's College (with 6 plates) 57

VII. Notes on some Neolithic Implements from South Africa. By Mr JOHN C. RICKARD, Cambridge. Communicated by A. F. GRIFFITH, Esq., B.A., Christ's College 67

VIII. On two unpublished Christian gem-types. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. KING, M.A., Trinity College 75

IX. On the Measurements and Valuations of the Domesday of Cambridgeshire. Communicated by the Rev. BRYAN WALKER, LL.D., Corpus Christi College (with an atlas of tables in folio) . . 93

X. On the Minster-Church at Aachen. Communicated by R. C. READE, Esq., M.A., King's College (with 4 plates) 131

XI. Note on Moïse du Soul (Moses Solanus), M.A. by Royal Mandate, 1701. Communicated by the Rev. JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., St John's College, Professor of Latin 167

XII. On a Cameo representing Jupiter Dodonaeus. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. KING, M.A., Trinity College 183

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 7, 1883.

WITH APPENDIX.

Cambridge:
DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & BOWES.
LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS.
1884.

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Cambridge:
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REPORT.

THE Council has much pleasure in congratulating the Society upon its continuous growth and energy. Since the last annual meeting the *Report and Communications for* 1880–81, very fully illustrated with chromo-lithographs and woodcuts, has been issued to members, as have also a Supplement to Dr RAVEN'S *Bells of Cambridgeshire* and a second edition of Professor BABINGTON'S *Ancient Cambridgeshire*. A memoir of the Rev. CALEB PARNHAM, B.D. (who was Fellow and Tutor of St John's College in the early part of the last century), by the Rev. J. R. LUNN, B.D., and the *Report and Communications for* 1881–82 are in the press; and NICOLAS TYERY'S suggestions for an Irish coinage in the reign of Henry VIII., which are preserved in the University Library, are being prepared for publication.

During the past year fifteen members have retired and four have died; among the latter was Dr BACON, of Fulbourne, who had been an active member of our Council since 1879, and had contributed one Communication to the Society's

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fourth volume. In the late Professor DESOR we have lost an honorary member, who was a distinguished geologist, but most notable for his memoirs on the lake-dwellings of Neuchâtel and Bienne. Twenty-five new members have joined the Society, which now numbers 281 upon its roll.

An excursion was made in August to Denny Abbey, and to the churches of Waterbeach and Landbeach, the architectural features of each place being fully described and discussed. Invitations have been received from Huntingdon and from Thetford; and it is hoped that both these places will be visited in the course of the summer.

The Archaeological Institute of America has been added to the list of societies that exchange publications with our own Society.

The Council of the Society has submitted to the Archaeological Collections Syndicate a statement, which the Syndicate has embodied in a Report to the Senate (see *Reporter*, no. 477, p. 620), on the subject of providing a specially qualified curator for the Society's museum.

The Council desires to express the thanks of the Society to the Syndics of the University Press for undertaking the cost of printing the text of the *Report and Communications for* 1880–81.

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APPENDIX.

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CONTENTS OF APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Abstract of Proceedings during the year ending May 7, 1883 .	lxxi
II.	List of Council elected May 7, 1883	xc
III.	Summary of Accounts for the year ending Dec. 31, 1882 . .	xci
IV.	List of Presents received during the year ending May 7, 1883 .	xcii
V.	Laws (revised Feb. 28, 1881)	xcvii
VI.	List of Communications issued with the present Report . .	xcix

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I. AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 7, 1883.

November 6, 1882. Professor Humphry, M.D., F.R.S., in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

W. Bell, Esq., Huntingdon Road.
Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall.
M. Rule, Esq., M.A., Pembroke College.

A communication from Dr PEARSON was read in which he suggested that the 'Three Pigeons,' at the point where the road from Thame to Abingdon crosses that from London to Oxford, was probably the site where Goldsmith laid the scene of *She stoops to conquer*.

Mr FOX, of Barton Mills, exhibited a one-handled terra-cotta vase, 11 in. high, together with a water-colour sketch of the site of the discovery in West Row Fen, Mildenhall, and a well-preserved 'middle-brass' coin of Trajan (rev. FORTVNA · AVGVSTI) found in the same locality: the vase was turned up by the plough in 1867, and had been but very slightly injured: a very graceful pear-shaped ornamentation in white paint ran round it in its widest part.

Mr LEWIS exhibited two Etruscan bronze mirrors with engraved reverses, and read a paper upon them by Mr C. W. King (*Communications*, Vol. V, No. XIII.)

Professor SKEAT quoted a paragraph on Magic Mirrors by Warton in his History of English Poetry, in connexion with Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*, the sole tale in which Chaucer seems to have drawn, ultimately, from an Arabian source; and added that the word *mirror* is of French origin; but the English had mirrors in early times. The Anglo-Saxon name was

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sceawere, which in modern English would be "shew-er," that which shews, a word which might very well have been retained, instead of borrowing the name of *mirror* from the French. He remarked that the Latin form *equus* contrasts favourably with the Greek ἵππος, as being nearer to the Aryan form.

Mr A. H. Smith enquired whether it was certain that the group on the mirror represented Apollo, Artemis and Ge or Themis, rather than a nameless group. Apollo and Artemis were completely unprovided with any distinctive attributes. The remaining figure had neither the matronly air nor the attributes of Ge or Themis. The Omphalos and the Tripod of Apollo were both absent. With respect to the Gorgoneion at the base of the handle, could it not be regarded rather as a subsidiary ornament, than as having any immediate bearing upon the main composition? Such ornamental additions were of frequent occurrence upon mirrors. Finally, with respect to the bee, supposed by Mr King to indicate the poetic power of Apollo, were there precedents for the use of this emblem in art? Was it not rather confined to literature, while the lyre would be naturally employed to denote the poetical gifts of the god?

Mr Lewis drew attention in reply to the Delphic laurel and raven and pointed out that the Gorgoneion (indicative of death) beneath appropriately balanced the sun at the top of the column, a natural symbol of Apollo as Helios.

November 20, 1882. The President (the Rev. R. Burn, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

Rev. G. W. Asplen, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
C. L. Bell, Esq., Chesterton Road.
G. H. Darwin, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Trinity College.
A. de Putron, Esq., Peterhouse.
W. Eardley, Esq., St John's College.
E. A. Gardner, Esq., Caius College.

Mr A. G. Wright, of Newmarket, exhibited a small terra-cotta head of Silenus in high relief, which had probably been affixed to horse-trappings as an amulet; and a bone dagger, 9 inches in length, made from the metatarsal of an ox. The former had been found on Warren Hill, Icklingham, in 1877, at the depth of two feet; the latter was from Burwell Fen. A similar object had been found in Swaffham Fen.

Mr Lewis exhibited on the part of the Rev. C. B. Drake, Rector of Teversham, drawings of some wall-painting, at the back and sides of the easternmost of the three *sedilia* in Teversham Church. It appeared to

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have been covered up in the so-called restoration of the Church some twenty years ago; and had been brought to light again a few weeks since. The patterns on the walls were repeated thrice, but were not precisely identical. The work was that of the 15th century. Between the *sedilia* were slender shafts, ending in capitals. On the capitals could be felt mortice holes indicating the existence at some time of small statues. Above and behind the canopies a curious piece of ornament of the nature of open screen-work. The width of the *sedilia* was not the same throughout, the westernmost one being 18 inches in width. The other two were 23½ inches wide. The easternmost one appeared to have been surmounted by a lofty finial, of which only a portion of the shaft remained. There were other features of interest in the Church besides the *sedilia*. Mr Drake said that, although the Church was always open, he would be very pleased at any time to shew it himself to members of the Society, and that he would be very grateful for suggestions as to the date of the south-eastern pillar of the nave.

Mr G. F. Browne gave a lecture—illustrated by a number of drawings and tracings—upon sculptured stones and crosses of the Saxon period in the north of England (Bewcastle, Gosforth, Hexham, Ilkley, Lastingham, Leeds, Ruthwell, Whalley, &c.). His object was to bring home to the minds of Cambridge antiquaries more than had been done hitherto, the considerable number and very great importance of this group of sculptured stones. The great stones of Scotland, those of the Isle of Man and of Ireland, and those of Wales, had each important books to themselves. But the ancient stones of England had no book of their own, and yet, as far as he could make out from a comparative study of the subject, there was no group of stones that were so decidedly living stones as these, none which spoke in the way in which they could make these English stones speak. He first described the cross-shaft at Bewcastle, 14 ft. 6 in. high, with inscriptions stating that the column was put up in the reign of King Ecgfrith, in memory of a certain King Alchfrith. This was the patron of Wilfrid, who first established him in an ecclesiastical position by giving him Ripon, and who died in 664. He next noticed the cross, 17 feet 6 inches high, at Ruthwell, in Dumfriesshire, no doubt an Anglian cross, put up when Dumfries was in the possession of the Anglians; remarking that the figure of our Lord in the attitude of blessing exactly resembled, in the glory and all other details, a great figure of Buddha in the Amaravati Tope (A.D. 200 or so), the feet of our Lord trampling on the heads of swine, those of Buddha resting on cushions. On this cross there was no interlacing work at all, and that suggested the question what could have been its origin; for almost all stones in the North had this interlacing work, which was a characteristic feature of the Irish crosses. There could be little doubt that this cross represented the Roman view of Christian

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ornament, and that the interlacing work represented the Celtic view. It had been stated that Pope Gregory had no artists for illuminating the books sent over to England, and had to employ a Celtic scribe, a book thus illuminated being sent over to Augustine of Canterbury. But this was a mistake. Of the two MSS. in Corpus Library, the one ornamented with interlacing work was late in the 7th century. The undoubted Augustine Gospels had no interlacing work; it had a great illuminated page at the commencement of St Luke, with panels containing scenes from our Lord's life, and with scrolls at St Luke's feet. This book may have set the fashion for Roman ornament in early England. In connexion with this cross Mr Browne mentioned the account by William of Malmesbury of a magnificent obelisk 26 ft. high, standing in his time at the great church of Glastonbury, on which were five panels with human figures and inscriptions. He then shewed enlarged drawings of the cross at Gosforth—with regard to which it was not too much to say that that year had seen a revelation of the language of these stones which no one had dreamed of before. In the course of a recent examination of some of the Scotch stones, he had come to the conclusion that it was quite possible that scenes from the *sagas* might be represented on some of these stones. The two sides of the Gosforth cross which he shewed represented, as he believed, the one all that the Scandinavian gods could do for man, the other, what Christ could do. The one shewed Loke bound, with the serpent dropping venom on his head, and on the upper part of the cross great serpents with two heads. The other shewed the crucifixion, and the same serpents, but with only one head. A female figure below the cross, with long and abundant hair, was very remarkable, for the ointment box she was represented as holding was in the true shape of an *alabastron* or cucumber-shaped box, which was snapped across the middle when it was intended to use the ointment it contained. Mr Browne shewed a full-size drawing of a large stone dug up that year at Gosforth, with Thor and the giant in the boat, at the moment when the giant cut Thor's fishing-rope and released the Midgard snake. The details were exceedingly clear, and corresponded exactly with the story in the Sagas.

Mr Browne next shewed a facsimile of a cross entirely Roman in character. It had always been called "the cross of Paulinus," and had nothing on either side but scroll work, closely resembling that in the Augustine Gospels, a book which Paulinus must often have handled at Canterbury before he went north. This and two others are at Whalley. Referring to the Ilkley stones, Mr Browne remarked that Wharfedale abounded in sculptured stones. Besides those at Ilkley, there were three or more at Burnsall, some very remarkable stones at Otley, of one of which he shewed an enlarged diagram, and at Collingham were portions of three beautiful crosses. He shewed a drawing of a stone dug up at Healaugh, near Tadcaster, on which were five equal circles within a sixth, two con-

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centric circles, and one single circle, arranged like the head and shaft of a "wheel" cross, and connected by three vertical and three horizontal lines; there were also on it the thoroughly Celtic names Madug and Heiu. The circles represented no doubt the paten with the communicants' wafers, the priest's wafer on a separate paten, and the chalice, the Council of Tours (A.D. 567) having probably crystallised a local custom when it declared that at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the wafers must be arranged in the form of a cross. The vertical and horizontal lines on the cross corresponded to the motions which must be imparted to the censer in swinging it during the incensation. If this were so, the light thrown upon the Celtic "use" was quite invaluable; it was not Greek and it was not Roman. Mr Browne next shewed a facsimile of one of the Saxon tomb-pillars at Thornhill near Dewsbury, with a Runic inscription and two interlacing dragons of whose symbolism he suggested an interpretation. He then shewed diagrams and one full-size panel of a very remarkable cross 14 feet high, now preserved in the chancel of Leeds parish church. Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, had heartily accepted his interpretation of the design upon the panel, that it represented Völund carrying off a "Swan-maiden;" such a panel did not exist elsewhere in the whole world. Mr Browne also gave large diagrams and descriptions of exquisite ornamentation on crosses at Hexham, probably the crosses *mirabili celatura* erected to Bishop Acca in 714. He shewed also, by the kindness of Mr Easterby, the vicar of Lastingham, facsimiles of very interesting stones from the remarkable crypt at that place. One of these had serpents as ornament, and Mr Browne pointed out that Bede in relating the gift of Lastingham to St Chad spoke of it as a place of dragons; as a yet further local coincidence, he shewed enlarged drawings of early cruciform stones built into the two neighbouring churches of Kirkdale and Sinnington, with snakes under the arms and by the side of Christ on the cross. He concluded by pointing out the great interest which attached to the question of the relation of the great manuscripts to the stones of the district in which they had resided, as the Rushworth Gospels at Harewood in Wharfedale and the Durham Gospels at Lindisfarne. He shewed the historical bearing of some of the stones by pointing out that a cross to the memory of Eadulf had been found at Alnmouth, on a straight line from Bamborough, which he had been besieging, to Edlingham (formerly Eadulfingham), on his flight to which he was slain. From Eadulf's hostile action towards S. Wilfrid and from other circumstances, Mr Browne shewed that Eadulf—who had usurped the kingdom—was certainly of the Celtic party and opposed to the Romans, and he pointed out that not only did the cross bear an ornament purely "Irish," but an inscription on it stated that it was made by Myredach, a purely Irish name. In conclusion, he urged that something should be done to record the description of these stones in a great book. They were being found in considerable numbers, and he mentioned four

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important discoveries which had come under his own knowledge that year. He thought the University might very well undertake such a task. For purposes of comparison, everything in the way of Greek or Roman or mediæval art was at present unusually well represented in the University; and they had in this Society a great centre of enthusiasm. Such a work should not be undertaken in a mere archæological spirit, but in that broader spirit which thought no labour lost that bound them to the past with the cords of a man. These crosses and stones shewed that our Saxon ancestors possessed very early a patience and skill in execution and a fertility and beauty of design which might well make us proud to call them our fathers.

Professor SKEAT made some remarks upon the subject. He thought Mr Browne had contrived to tell them as much as one would be able to get into three or four lectures; and with all the varied knowledge of the subject which he possessed, he was clearly the man to do the proposed work.

Dr LUARD heartily agreed with the remarks of Professor Skeat; Mr Browne had thrown fresh light on the subject, especially all the matter connected with the Sagas, which was quite new.

Dr Luard also called attention to an act of vandalism which, according to the newspapers, was threatened at Sawston, by the utilization of a cross of Barnack stone standing in the middle of the village for the purposes of a lamp-post. He thought the Society might very properly interfere.

The CHAIRMAN assured Dr Luard that the Society had already done so, and that the monument had been saved.

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr Browne for his lecture.

Mr J. W. CLARK was to have given a lecture upon the architectural history of Trinity College in the 17th and 18th centuries; but owing to the lateness of the hour it was postponed.

February 19, 1883. The President (the Rev. R. Burn, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. F. H. Cox, M.A., Ditton Rectory.
C. A. E. Pollock, Esq., B.A., Corpus Christi College.
Rev. H. R. Reynolds, M.A., Trinity College.
W. A. Rhodes, Esq., 30 Trumpington Street.
A. G. Wright, Esq., Newmarket.

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Dr RAVEN presented to the Society three Roman bronze coins lately found at Undley, in Lakenheath parish:

1. Obv. D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG. Laureated head of Maximian to right.
   Rev. GENIO POP ROM. Figure with cornucopiæ and patera (?) to left. In exergue PTR. Æ. 2.
2. Obv. VRBS ROMA. Helmeted head to left.
   Rev. Wolf and twins. Above, a wreath between two stars. In exergue -RR (?) Æ. 3.
3. Obv. D N VALENS P F AVG. Head of Valens to right.
   Rev. ..... MANORVM. Figure holding the labarum (inscribed with the sacred monogram ☧) and dragging a captive by the hair. In field N; in exergue S CON. Æ. 3.

They formed part of the contents of an urn, which was broken by the plough "not long ago." A pen-and-ink map, which Dr Raven sent with the coins, gave some idea of the distribution of Roman remains in the neighbourhood.

Mr C. E. HAMMOND, of Newmarket, presented a mediaeval bottle of a bulbous form, found in 1874 at the depth of five feet in Main Street, Newmarket; no other objects were found near.

The Rev. E. K. BENNET, D.C.L., read some "Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-book, with some particulars of school and college expenses in the 16th and 17th centuries." (See *Communications*, Vol. V, No. XIV.)

Dr BENNET then exhibited (by permission of Sir Robert Buxton, M.P.) a collection of College bills of one of the Buxtons in 1736, upon which a further Communication to the Society was promised, when the arrangement of the family records is completed.

Mr JENKINSON exhibited what appeared to be the earliest account of the famous Mantuan Vase. Dr Pearson in a communication presented to the Society on May 10, 1875 (see *Communications*, Vol. III, No. XXX.), referred to the Leipzig *Acta Eruditorum*, 1683. The book now exhibited was published at Bremen in the previous year. It is in the form of a letter from J. H. Eggeling to Duke Ferdinand Albert, which contains (besides much learned but irrelevant matter) a fairly correct account of the scenes cut upon the vase. It is written in Latin and is accompanied by a plate*.

Mr JENKINSON read an account of Roman coins recently found at Willingham. (See *Communications*, Vol. V, No. XV.)

* This book is now in the Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

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March 5, 1883. The President (the Rev. R. Burn, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

A. J. Birkett, Esq., Trinity College.
P. S. Knowles, Esq., 2 Pemberton Terrace.
W. Peed, Esq., 11 Bene't Street.
A. A. Tilley, Esq., M.A., King's College.
F. P. Weber, Esq., Trinity College.

Mr Lewis exhibited (on the part of the Rev. C. W. King) and described an onyx cameo, recently found at Caerleon-on-Usk. (See *Communications*, Vol. V, No. XVI.)

Mr G. F. Browne shewed a drawing of ornamental scrolls from the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, and pointed out their almost exact resemblance to the scrolls on "Paulinus's Cross" at Whalley, of which no other example is known in England. He gave reasons for thinking it probable that Paulinus had visited Ravenna before being sent to England (A.D. 601). He shewed also a drawing of continuous scrolls with birds, leaves, fruit, &c., from the tomb of S. Januarius in the Catacomb of S. Praetextatus at Rome, and pointed out their remarkable resemblance to the scrolls with birds, &c., on the great crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, remarking that the date indicated on the Bewcastle cross, about A.D. 665, coincided with the time at which Wilfrid was making visits to Rome, and was not long prior to the date at which the Catacombs ceased to be places of pilgrimage, on the removal of the relics of Saints to the Churches in Rome. Mr Browne then shewed a drawing of a Saxon stone in the portico of the Fitzwilliam Museum, with rubbings of its four panels of interlacing work. It was one of ten stones found in 1810 at the foundations of the Castle of William I. at Cambridge. The stone is a grave-cover, divided into four panels by a rectangular cross, the head and foot of which terminate in a horse-shoe. Many of the Irish sculptured slabs and some of those found at Hartlepool and elsewhere in the north of England are divided into panels by crosses with arms ending in semicircles, the old symbol of the moon-deity in the north of Europe; but the only instance quoted by Mr Browne of the use of the horse-shoe in this connexion is in the magnificent fly-leaf at the commencement of S. Matthew in the Lindisfarne Gospels. One of the horse-shoes on the Cambridge stone contains a Latin cross with the head in the form of a capital T with vertical returns, and across the shaft below the arms there is a similar figure. The fly-leaf at the commencement of S. Luke in the Lindisfarne Gospels has exactly this figure at the termination of the arms. A grave-cover closely resembling this had recently been found at Lincoln; there was one in a

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church wall at York; and there was a portion of one in the Guildhall Museum in London.

As illustrative of the interlacing patterns Mr Browne shewed drawings of some of the most archaic Celtic forms of this work, found at S. Bees, with dots at regular intervals among the interlacing bands; by the side of these he shewed a drawing of the ornament on the front of the altar of Baal in the Fitzwilliam Museum, worked to the same scale, and pointed out the remarkable similarity between them.

Professor Hughes gave the following archaeological notes on the neighbourhood of Mentone:

"One might have expected to find the Riviera dotted with camps, streaked with roads, and bristling with ruins along its whole length. Italy on one side, Gaul on the other; mountain fastnesses behind, and the Mediterranean navigable close in to the shore in front; fertile valleys and rich patches of seaboard every here and there; a climate that forced no hurry on the traveller, waters full of fish for the primaeval hunter.

But there are few antiquities to be seen except here and there where we may suppose there were easy landing-places; and in this remark I think I suggest the real explanation. For though it is generally possible to travel along the coast, there are occasional promontories and bluffs of rugged rock round which it must have been very difficult to pass except where a road had been made, and then the endless winding in and out so lengthened the journey that we must suppose that those who could would sail from point to point not far from shore, and would not carry with them a continuous belt of civilization along the whole sea-coast. It is known that there was a Roman Road—traces of it are seen near La Mortola—and it is believed that that was the only way along the coast through all mediaeval times down to the quite recent making of the grand Cornice Road.

So in later times the small coast towns and the little mediaeval fortresses, that crown a cliff here or command a pass there, are not the marks of the progress of a conquering nation or the outcome of a native race gathering their strength here and there for defence, but represent the places where the sea-rovers and adventurers of many different nationalities landed and settled, and drew round them the thinly scattered native population that gave what little there was of common character to the whole sea-board.

Such being the nature of the district, we are not surprised to find that the remains of antiquity are few and isolated, and that there is little but internal evidence to guide us in determining their age and object.

First I will call attention to the caves of Baoussé Roussé or the Rochers Rouges of which I exhibit a sketch-map and photograph. These caves occur somewhat irregularly at heights varying from 60 to 400 feet above

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the sea in the cliffs which bound the east bay of Mentone. It had been known for some time, thanks to the researches of M. Bonfils, that these caves contained the remains of extinct mammalia and works of man. They were subsequently more fully explored and described by M. Rivière. He found among other things the entire skeleton of a man lying at full length at a considerable depth in the cave *débris*—in which he records the occurrence of the extinct mammalia. This would have been a discovery of immense importance, if it were certain that the man belonged to the period of the mammoth rhinoceros, &c. But unfortunately the evidence appears to me to point entirely the other way. First as to the condition of the skeleton. It was sent to Paris where I examined it some years ago with Sir Charles Lyell, and where I also saw some photographs taken at the time. The skeleton was whole, whereas all the other animals were in a fragmentary condition. It was laid out with ornaments of shell arranged on the head. In the photographs two flint implements were shewn lying beside it. But these were neolithic, and I ascertained at Mentone that they had not been found with it. So I infer that the skeleton was certainly *buried* and therefore may belong to any period and be later than palæolithic times. The neolithic implements being photographed with it shewed a want of knowledge or a want of care that destroyed the value of much of the evidence. In the caves which I examined I found no evidence of remains of the period of the mammoth, but saw in the collection of M. Bonfils molars of that species which were said to have been derived from a deep stony clay deposit through which the railway was cut, and which probably did extend into some of the caves. There were flakes and chips in abundance in the cave by the quarry and remains of sea-shells, small birds, oxen, deer, and others of the more recent groups of animals.

There are other remains about that district which have been referred to prehistoric times.

On the hills chiefly west of Mentone there are a number of rude stone-works. One of these I visited in company with Mr Andrews, who has paid a good deal of attention to this class of objects, and to whom I am indebted for much information. Immediately below the road from Roccabrunna to Turbia where it winds round one of the limestone bluffs that form such a marked feature on this part of the coast, there is a series of terraces built up with large stones such as occur all over the slope of the hill, broken off by the action of the weather from the crags. The uppermost terrace was about 10 feet high, the next below it about 7, the third about 4, and the lowest about 15 as shewn in the diagram. The average breadth of the terraces was about 20 feet. Stones were roughly arranged to form side walls, the most eastern of which was prolonged down the steep crest of the ridge and there were some indications of its having been continued to the end of the promontory. These have been compared to the walls of Tiryns in Argolis.

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Now I saw no reason whatever for believing that these terraces were meant for defence. They were accessible and commanded from above and generally from both sides. The stones were not larger than are commonly seen in Ireland where the farmers often clear boulders up to four feet diameter off their land, and build with them boundary walls, one of which I have seen 10 high and 18 feet broad.

Nor did I see any evidence of antiquity in these so-called cyclopean walls and terraces. Fragments of pottery were found in the surface soil, which, though resembling the coarser Roman tiles and vessels, might easily have belonged to a much more recent date and have been carried on to the land in top-dressing. Besides, if there were no doubt about the age of the pottery there is nothing to connect them in any way with the building of the terraces, and we cannot refer cyclopean buildings to the Romans.

There are other stoneworks in the neighbourhood which, from the description which I received, may have been rude primaeval forts, but it is needful to be much on one's guard in a country where shepherds wander far from home, and where the wolf and the bear are still sometimes seen, and the flocks must be carefully protected in a fold at night. I have referred above to the existence of a Roman road along the coast. This was a privileged road down to late times. The Family of Orengo were the only persons allowed to bridge it over in that district. It was probably kept in repair till a comparatively recent date, and therefore we cannot feel sure that any particular bit uncovered from time to time should be referred to the Romans. It might seem curious that it is so seldom seen, but this may, it seems to me, be explained by the very thick wash of earth and stones that is continually being swept down the hill sides, which have generally bare earth exposed by cultivation on the terraces; while often the road has been covered by the process of cultivation itself.

In this way I think we must explain the very deep cut through which the road runs below the Palazzo Orengo. It is not that the Romans made a cutting, but that cultivation has been for ages heaping earth up along the road which in consequence had to be protected by rough stone walls.

On one other point I will offer a few remarks. Near Vintimiglia a small portion of a Roman theatre has been recently found in digging for sand, and the enlightened Government of Italy has taken charge of the exploration. The part opened out consists of an entrance low door and a portion of the lower stone benches. They are built of enormous slabs of a cream coloured limestone referred to the Lower Cretaceous, and all look as fresh as if the building were now being erected instead of being exhumed after many centuries. So also the smaller buildings close by, from which I was informed Roman sepulchral urns and funeral ornaments and offerings were procured, are marvellously fresh, even the plaster being sound.

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These buildings are covered by a grey sand and ruin rubbish, the usual surface *débris* and growth of a waste place over which strong winds frequently swept, carrying sand and dust. Was it ever finished and if so what rough scenes did its walls witness before Roman luxury was driven away for ever? Where did the Romans and Romanized natives live who frequented it? To all the questions I have no answer to give, but we will ask where did they get those magnificent blocks of limestone. The rock does not occur close by, and does not always yield such splendid masses where it does occur. There is however near Turbia one ancient quarry which does yield just such blocks, and which seems to shew traces of ancient work. From this it seems on the whole most probable they did come, but what a work it must have been to transport them from the rocky heights of Turbia to the shore at Vintimiglia!"

Mr J. W. Clark delivered a lecture on the Architectural History of Neville's Court (Trinity College), the substance of which will appear in his forthcoming book.

April 23, 1883. The President (the Rev. R. Burn, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

G. Kett, Esq., Brooklands Avenue.
H. Middleton, Esq., St John's College.
Rev. S. G. Phear, D.D., Master of Emmanuel College.

Mr W. White exhibited the following objects.

1. A Roman Horse-shoe, which he said was one of ten found about the middle of last January, under four feet of clayey soil, by a man digging a ditch near to "the moats" at Caxton, in this county. They were found at unequal distances throughout the length of the ditch. Upon Mr White's making enquiries about the others, he found that two only were saved; and of those two one had been put into the blacksmith's forge to test the quality of the metal—so that in reality this was the only one preserved. Mr White supposed them to be Roman, because of their being found so near to the Ermine Street, which runs through Caxton; but he had not been able to find a single illustration of a Roman horse-shoe to compare them with. Mr White called the attention of the Society to the place called the "Moats." He believed it had never been examined by any body of Antiquaries, but thought that a work of such extent, covering an area of some 300 ft. by 250 ft., which might have taken 500 men at least sixteen days to work, and that too so close upon the Roman Road, well deserved close examination.

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2. A brass finger-ring of the early part of the seventeenth century, with a spread eagle engraved upon it. This had been dug up very lately in a garden in Cambridge.

3. The upper portion of a Roman Millstone, found about 1868, by a Mr Strickland, whilst excavating a field adjoining the churchyard at Great Eversden, in this county.

4. A squeeze taken from a stone covered with a cuneiform inscription, surmounted by two human feet in alto-relievo.

Mr White said that the stone from which he took this squeeze was brought from Nineveh in 1838 by Commodore John Croft Hawkins, who was at that time in command of the East India Company's ship "Clive," on the Euphrates; it had been in the possession of the Commodore's family until last July, when it was presented by his nephew (B. R. J. Hawkins, Esq.) to the Colchester Castle Museum.

The stone was a fragment of an inscription recording the war of Sargon against Merodach-Baladan. Sargon reigned from B.C. 721 to B.C. 704, when he was succeeded by his son Sennacherib. His name occurs but once in the Sacred Writings, being mentioned by Isaiah (xx. 1). Besides being a mighty warrior, he was also the builder of many useful and magnificent works.

Merodach-Baladan, whose defeat Sargon here records, began to reign as King of Babylon in B.C. 721, the same year that Sargon ascended the throne of Assyria. He appears to have been the leader of a people unsuccessfully struggling for liberty, for whilst he held his court in his father's city of Bit-Yaklin, Tiglath-Pileser made him tributary to the Assyrian kings, and he appears quietly to have submitted during the remainder of his reign and that of his successor Shalmaneser IV; but in the first year of the usurpation of Sargon, the Chaldæans threw off the yoke, and placed themselves under the government of Merodach-Baladan. Sargon was too much occupied at that time to put down this revolt, and Merodach-Baladan was allowed to remain in quiet possession of his throne for twelve years. But at last came the day of reckoning; and Sargon advanced against him with a great army. Although—to quote the words of Sargon in the inscription—"he (Merodach-Baladan) had strengthened his citadel," and made well-nigh impregnable "his great fortress," yet "I cut him off from the midst of Babylon." He did not wait for the arrival of Sargon, but took to flight, or, as Sargon expresses it, "he had gone round and gone." He had fled to his own city Bit-Yakin, near to the mouth of the Euphrates, where he prepared for a vigorous resistance, and awaited the advance of Sargon, who soon gained a complete victory over him, plundering his palace and burning his city, but sparing his life. Upon the death of Sargon, B.C. 704, the Babylonians revolted against his son and successor Sennacherib; and Merodach-Baladan, who had escaped from captivity,

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having murdered Hagisa, reascended the throne, from which, in B.C. 702, Sennacherib finally expelled him.

This Merodach-Baladan is the same king of Babylon who sent letters and a present to Hezekiah when he had heard that he had been sick, and to whose ambassadors Hezekiah shewed all the treasures of his house.

By the kindness of Prof. Sayce, of Queen's College, Oxford, Mr White had been enabled to append the following translation of the fragment:

1. .... the disturbance I coerced and I .....
2. .... alone he trusted and to .....
3. .... he revolted and made war .....
4. .... and lord of the great, Merodach .....
5. .... I (?) cut him off (?) from the midst of Babylon ...
6. .... and he strengthened his citadel, the men ...
7. .... (from) before his great fortress he .....
8. .... his present he completed; the city, a place ...
9. .... the place of his camp, (his) fighting-men ....
10. .... his .... he had gone round and gone ....

Mr White ended by describing the process of making the squeeze, and remarked upon the simplicity and great usefulness of this method of preserving with accuracy any monuments in relief.

Dr BRYAN WALKER exhibited a reduced copy of the *Tabula Peutingeriana:* and explained the history of its discovery at Worms in 1507, the subsequent possession of it by Conrad Peutinger (whence its name); its loss or misplacement by Peutinger's son and grandson; its re-discovery by Welser in 1682; its purchase by Prince Eugène of Savoy in 1720, and his gift of it to the Emperor Charles IV., by whom it was lodged in the Imperial Library at Vienna, where it still remains. The map is probably the famous *mappa mundi* of the monk of Colmar, which he claims to have copied in 1265 from a Roman map: and this original of his would be a copy of the Imperial map first painted by M. Vipsanius Agrippa, with Augustus's approval, on his portico; and afterwards corrected from time to time (as Pliny informs us) to represent the changes of the roads. Dr Walker illustrated the pictorial symbolism of the relative importance of towns, by diagrams; and shewed that the nomenclature of these towns indicated that the original map must have been earlier than Constantine, and just after the reigns of the Antonines; also that the allocation of the Barbarian Tribes along the Rhine and Danube would suit that date and no other: and that there were remarkable indications of the Antonine period in the delineation of the Eastern boundaries and roads of the Empire.

Taking it therefore to be a map of the date A.D. 200 (with a few obvious interpolations by the 13th century copyist), he argued that it proved in the small portion of Britain which the ravages of time had spared to the outer-

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most sheet of the map (originally 24 feet long and one broad, but now only 21½ feet in length) that

1. London was unimportant after its ruin by Boadicea, and the crossing of the Thames showed no mark of its existence;

2. That the Ermine Street did not then exist, and the Watling Street crossed the Thames higher up than London, at Coway Stakes or at Kingston;

3. That Richborough, Dover and Hythe were then Roman Stations, but the other forts of the Saxon shore, *Regulbium*, *Anderida*, *Othona*, *Portus Adurnus*, and perhaps *Garionium*, were not yet in existence.

4. That the Romans had a road from the Stour to Dunwich and a station there; but that Dunwich was not *Sitomagus;* which ought rather to be placed near Thetford; *Iciani* at Ixworth, near Bury St Edmund's, and *Villa Faustini* probably about Diss. (See *Communications*, Vol. V, No. XVII.)

May 7, 1883. Annual General Meeting. The Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D. (Vice-President), in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

H. T. Francis, Esq., M.A., Caius College.
Hon. and Rev. A. T. Lyttelton, M.A., Master of Selwyn College.
Rt Hon. H. C. Raikes, M.A., M.P., Trinity College.

The Annual Report was read.

Thanks were voted to the Syndics of the University Press for printing the text of the Report and Communications for 1880–81.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President:—J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A.
Vice-President:—Rev. R. Burn, M.A.
Treasurer:—W. M. Fawcett, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
Secretary:—Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A.

New Members of Council:

Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.
J. E. Foster, Esq., M.A.
A. P. Humphry, Esq., M.A.
N. C. Hardcastle, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

Auditors:—Swann Hurrell, Esq.
F. C. Wace, Esq., M.A.

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Mr J. W. Clark shewed, by extracts from the Audit-Books of S. John's College, and some papers recently found in the Muniment Room, that the tomb of the Lady Margaret in Westminster Abbey was unquestionably the work of Pietro Torrigiano, who is referred to in one of the documents that he quoted as "Master Peter," and in another as "the Florentine;" and moreover that the tomb was originally protected by a cage of gilt ironwork, the cost of which was defrayed by S. John's College. This, the work of Cornelis Symondson, probably a Fleming, who resided near Temple Bar in London, must have been an elaborate structure, for it cost £25, equal to at least £250 at the present value of money; the stone plinth on which it rested £2. 13*s*. 4*d*.; and the gilding £2. (See Communications, Vol. V, No. XVIII.)

Mr W. M. Fawcett gave an account of some recent discoveries in the Chapel of Jesus College: after alluding to the history of the College and the general way in which Bishop Alcock worked when he transformed the old conventual buildings, he said that until lately the portion of the walls of which he shewed a diagram (viz. the Western wall of the North Transept and the Northern wall of the Nave) had been covered with plaster, and that this having been removed exposed the construction of the wall.

The North wall had every appearance of having been built entirely by Bishop Alcock out of the *débris* of the portions that he pulled down; but this was not the case, as but a short time ago two early arches were to be seen in this wall of the Nave, so that the main wall was of early date, and it had been thickened and made up with rough material by Bishop Alcock when he inserted his windows. The Western wall of the North Transept was treated rather differently, as it was evident that a considerable portion was of the early period. Bishop Alcock had cut ruthlessly through the triforium arcading, and the amount of destruction that he did was very evident. The space above the window was filled up by him in a rather curious and rough manner.

The North-West angle of the transept finished with a Norman buttress of the pilaster character. A portion of this at the top is of freestone, but all the rest is of clunch. The change takes place just where it seems probable that the roof of the aisle would come. The Nave-arches shewed that there undoubtedly was a North aisle; and this seemed from what we now saw to return along the West side of the transept.

The curious worked stones, broken up and inserted roughly into the wall to form a key for plaster, shew how much damage was done when so large a part of the church was pulled down to make it into a College Chapel.

Mr A. G. Wright exhibited a small bronze fibula which shewed traces of enamel; it had been found near Diss. Also, from Exning, a denarius of Sabina, *rev.* IVNONI REGINAE, and a bronze coin of Constantine I., *rev.*

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MARTI CONSERVATORI, in the *exergue* PLN, showing that it had been struck at the London mint.

Mr RIDGEWAY exhibited two bronze Roman coins found last week near Fen Ditton in the works for the new line of railway to Thetford; the larger one, a *sestertius* of Antoninus Pius, bore on the reverse VOTA SVSCEPTA DEC III COS IIII SC, and could be dated to 160 A.D.; the other seemed to be of the same reign, but was not sufficiently well preserved for complete identification.

Mr MIDDLETON read extracts from a paper in which he sought to prove that the legend of Atlantis was not entirely mythical, but had really some foundation of historical truth. He contended that at a remote time in the past there was an island or several islands of considerable area, situated in the Atlantic Ocean to the West of Africa, and inhabited by a highly civilized people, who sent colonies to the West Coast of Africa, to Spain, &c. These islands were almost entirely submerged (the Azores representing all that remains of them) in some great convulsion of nature which began as a volcanic outburst and ended by the islands sinking under the sea. A few of the inhabitants of the submerged islands saved themselves in ships, some of which reached the coasts of Central America. There the fugitives found established the old Empire of the Colhuas (whose origin is quite unknown). To this empire they were for a long period of time subject; but after a time by intermarriage, &c., the Nahuatl race became numerous enough to attempt to throw off the yoke of the old Empire of Xibalba. The revolt was unsuccessful and *some* of the rebels migrated northward into the Mississippi valley, where they constructed the fortresses, temples, towns, &c. &c. whose ruins are now said to be the remains of the civilization of the Mound-builders. That part of the Nahuatl race which remained in Mexico made a second effort to overthrow the dominion of the Colhuas, were successful, and founded the kingdom of the Nahuas. The Nahua rule does not, however, seem to have been of great duration.

At some date, at present only approximately fixed, the Scythians crossed over from Asia, coming over the *ice* (according to their legends); and moving southwards attacked and expelled the Nahuatl settlers from their Mississippi Valley homes. Traditions say that the war lasted thirteen years, at the end of which time two companies migrated to Mexico, one by way of the gulf and the other overland; while it seems probable that some of the Mound-builders remained in the Valley, intermarrying and losing both their national characteristics and ethnological peculiarities by union with their barbarous conquerors. The return of the two fugitive companies of Mound-builders to Mexico and Central America seems to have sowed the seeds of discord in the Nahua empire, and after long civil wars a Toltec kingdom was founded. Subsequently the Toltec kingdom fell to pieces and the Aztec monarchy was established on its ruins.

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The Aztec supremacy was hardly established, when Cortez appeared in 1519 and ended these ancient civilizations.

These conclusions were supported by a large mass of evidence, which may be summarised as follows:

1. As proofs of the completeness of the *civilizations*, the remains of the *Mound-builders* in the Mississippi Valley and the temples, palaces, &c., in Mexico and Central America were cited.

2. As proofs of history, &c., the cosmogony and historical accounts which we find in the Popol-Vuh, Codex Chimalpopoca, Codex Vaticanus, Cakchiquel Manuscript, &c. and writings of the Spaniards were referred to.

3. As proofs of the Atlantis Cataclysm, the distinct account of the same in Plato's *Timæus*, with notices of Diodorus Siculus, Ælian and others as to belief in the existence of such islands, changes of African coast, cities there situated, &c., were brought forward.

4. As to the *possibility* of such a convulsion happening. It was observed that modern geological science had never stated that either the subsidence of islands, or the changes of level of large areas of the earth's surface, were impossible. Nay more, it *taught* that they were incessantly going on: and the writer but brought forward *proof* that the race of man was witness of some of these geological changes, which, for reasons too long to be here expounded, are generally held to have preceded his advent on the globe, or at any rate the Historic Epoch.

Mr J. W. Clark mentioned, in connexion with what Mr Middleton had said of the monuments of Central America, that Mr Maudslay had been engaged in photographing many of them with excellent results, and that he was now gone there with materials for taking casts of some of the more remarkable. The turtle appeared to have been a special object of veneration, if we may judge from the colossal effigies of it that abound.

Professor Hughes expressed a wish, that the very interesting account of the internal relation between primitive American civilizations had been kept distinct from speculations involving geological hypotheses which present appearances did not seem to warrant.

Mr Ridgeway, alluding to what Mr Clark had said as to the abundance of turtle monuments in Yucatan, pointed out that the turtle was a common totem among all the North American Indians; and that in general the evidence was in favour of the conclusion that the former inhabitants of America, savage and civilized, had a common origin, and that they entered the country from the north-west.

Dr Waldstein wished to insist upon the necessity of distinguishing, in these and similar investigations, between resemblances, structural and decorative, which would justify the presumption of a common origin, and

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those elementary resemblances, which could be found in the works of races between whom no connexion was probable, and which appear to be the natural outcome of the human artistic impulse in its infancy.

Dr LUARD, in expressing the thanks of the Society to Mr Middleton for the interesting subject which he had introduced to them, wished to assure him of the deep interest which we in this country take in American archaeology, as well as in America and American progress; and to hope that the sympathy between the two countries might continue

As long as Atalantis shall be read.

The SECRETARY communicated a note from Mr William E. A. AXON, M.R.S.L., concerning the legend of the Chapman of Swaffham, about which Professor Cowell read a paper before the Society in 1875 (*Communications*, Vol. III, No. XXXII). Mr Axon quoted a version of the story from the *New Help to Discourse*, a very popular folk-book, which was often printed between 1619 and 1696. He also quoted from an Article on Dreams, which appeared in the *Saturday Review* (28 December, 1878), "A Dream told by Mr Whately in Oriel Common Room." In this account the scene is laid in Somersetshire, and the Latin inscription on the pot is read by the son, whom the first discovery had enabled his father to send to school: but the story is substantially the same.

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II. LIST OF COUNCIL ELECTED MAY 7, 1883.

President.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museums of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College, *Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *University Registrary.*

Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College, *Trinity Praelector in Roman Literature and Archaeology.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary and Librarian.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

FREDERICK WHITTING, Esq., M.A., King's College.

GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

THOMAS MCKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Librarian.*

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., St John's College, *Esquire Bedell.*

Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D., St Catharine's College.

JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

ALFRED PAGET HUMPHRY, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Esquire Bedell.*

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Downing College.

Auditors.

F. C. WACE, Esq., M.A. SWANN HURRELL, Esq.

Curator.

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Excursion Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., B.A., Downing College.

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III. SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1882.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions				204	13	0
Life Members				63	0	0
Sale of publications:						
Messrs Deighton, Bell & Co.	2	9	0			
J. W. Clark, Esq.	1	3	3			
Rev. S. S. Lewis	5	0	0			
				8	12	3
				£276	5	3

Payments.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Due to Treasurer				6	17	0
List of Members (University Press)				6	15	0
Miscellaneous Printing	8	1	0			
" "	1	6	3			
				9	7	3
Glazed cases				21	0	0
Curator (L. H. Cust, Esq.)				10	10	0
Indexing (Octavo Publications, No. XVIII)				3	0	0
Binding				1	5	0
Stationery, wages, carriage and postage				2	19	10
Balance in hand				214	11	2
				£276	5	3

Examined and found correct March 9, 1883.

F. C. WACE
SWANN HURRELL } *Auditors.*

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IV. LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 7, 1883.

ANTIQUITIES, &c.

From Professor Wright, LL.D.:

A hemispherical bowl of terra-cotta with Madanitic inscriptions on the interior and exterior.

From several members of the Society:

Nine similar bowls, all inscribed.

From Herr A. G. Nordvi, Christiania:

A prop of the Viking's ship found in Norway, 1880.

From C. E. Hammond, Esq., Newmarket:

An ancient and very globular bottle, found in Newmarket.

From the Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D.:

Three Roman brass coins (see p. lxxvii).

BOOKS.

A. From various donors:

From His Grace the Duke of Northumberland (through the Rev. Dr J. Collingwood Bruce, Honorary Member of the Society):

Descriptive catalogue of Antiquities, chiefly British, preserved at Alnwick Castle. Privately printed, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1880. Folio.

From the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society:

Publication, no. 4.

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From H. Phillips, Esq., Ph.D. (of Philadelphia), honorary member of the Society:

Second and Third Annual Reports of the Executive Committee of the Archæological Institute of America.

From Hyde Clarke, Esq., F.R.S.:

The early history of the Mediterranean populations, etc. in their migrations and settlements illustrated from autonomous coins, etc. By the Donor. London, 1882. 8vo.

From G. Buckler, Esq.:

Colchester Castle a Roman building. Fourth section. 8vo.
Colchester Castle a Roman building. Colchester, 1879. 8vo.

From J. E. Foster, Esq.:

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. London, 1649.

B. From Societies, etc. in union for the exchange of publications:

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (C. K. Watson, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.):

   List of the Society, June 8, 1882. 8vo.
   Proceedings of the Society, Vol. viii, Nos. 5, 6. London, 1883. 8vo.

2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (A. Hartshorne, Esq., *Secretary*, 16 New Burlington Street, London, W.):

   The Archaeological Journal (Vol. xxxix.), Nos. 154, 155, 156, 157.

3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, E. J. Wells, Esq., Mallinson House, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):

   Transactions of the Society, Vol. i, part iii.

4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Secretary*, F. S. Pulling, Esq., M.A., 69 Walton Street, Oxford):

   Nothing received this year.

5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, R. Fitch, Esq., Norwich):

   Original Papers, Vol. ix, part iii.

6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, J. Machell Smith, Esq., Bury St Edmunds):

   Nothing received this year.

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7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. KING, Esq., Leigh Hill, Essex):

   Transactions of the Society, Vol. II, part ii.

8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A., Whitehall, Sittingbourne):

   Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. XIV, London, 1882. 8vo.

9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. CROSSKEY, Esq., Lewes):

   Sussex Archaeological Collections, Vol. XXXII, Lewes, 1882. 8vo.

10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):

    Transactions of the Society, Vol. IV, part ii.

11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. FREER, Esq., Stonygate, Leicester):

    Transactions of the Society, Vol. V, part iv. Leicester, 1882. 8vo.

12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):

    Nothing received this year.

13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Secretary*, C. T. GATTY, Esq., 18 Pelham Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool):

    Nothing received this year.

14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:

    Nothing received this year.

15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (THE SECRETARIES, The Old Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):

    Nothing received this year.

16. The Cambrian Archæological Association (*Treasurer*, Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, Melksham, Wilts.):

    Archaeologia Cambrensis, nos. 50, 51, 52. London, 1882. 8vo.

17. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):

    Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. XV, nos. 2, 3 and Vol. XVI, part i.

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18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon. Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):

Journal of the Society, Vol. v.

19. The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. GRAVES, A.B., Inisnag, Stonyford, co. Kilkenny):

Journal of the Association, Vol. v (Fourth Series), nos. 49, 50, 51, 52, 53. Dublin, 1882. 8vo.

20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. E. NICARD, Musée de Louvre, Paris):

Memoires, Tomes XLI, XLII.

21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania):

Nothing received this year.

22. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. DROLSUM):

Nothing received this year.

23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Sécrétaire*, M. TIESCHHAUSEN, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):

Nothing received this year.

24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, *γραμματεύς*, Athens):

Nothing received this year.

25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator*):

Fifteenth Annual Report of the Trustees.

26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (Spencer F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary*):

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1880.
List of the Foreign Correspondents of the Smithsonian Institute to January, 1882.

27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. PHILLIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 304 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):

Report of the Proceedings of the Society for 1882. 8vo.
Proceedings of the Society on its twenty-fifth anniversary, Jan. 4, 1883.

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28. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. GREENLEAF, Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):

First Annual Report of the Executive Committee, 1879–80.
Bulletin, no. 1, January, 1883.

29. The Bureau of Ethnology, Washington (W. J. HOFFMANN, Esq., M.D., *Secretary*):

Annual Report for 1879–80. Royal 8vo.

30. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary and Curator*):

Proceedings, Vol. III, part ii.

31. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGENE DUPREY, Queen Street, St. Helier, Jersey).

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V. LAWS.

(*Revised Feb.* 28, 1881.)

I. This Society shall be called The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture and Antiquities, to meet for the discussion of these subjects, and to collect and print information relative thereto.

III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be *One Guinea* annually, such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year; on the payment of which sum he shall become entitled to all the publications of the Society during the current year.

IV. A member shall be allowed to compound for his future annual subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas;* or, after the payment of fifteen annual subscriptions, by the payment of five guineas.

V. If the annual subscription of any member be twelve months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it, and if it be not paid within one month, a second application shall be made for it, and if that is not attended to within one month, a notice of the same shall be suspended in the Society's usual place of meeting, and the Secretary shall inform the member thereof: if the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of two years from the time when it became due, the name of such person shall be announced at the next Annual General Meeting as having been struck off the list of the Society.

VI. No Member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for (according to Law V), shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.

VII. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the Society shall be proposed by two members at any of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of this University shall be balloted for at the meeting at which they are proposed.

VIII. Honorary Members may be proposed with the sanction of the Council by at least two members of the Society at any of the usual meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting. No person shall be so proposed who is either resident within the county of Cambridge or a member of the University. Honorary Members shall receive all the current publications of the Society.

IX. In the voting by ballot for the election of members and honorary members one black ball in four shall exclude.

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X. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

XI. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary members of the Council to retire annually.

XII. At the Meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary member of the Council then present. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of numbers, retaining also his own right to vote upon all questions submitted to the meeting.

XIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIV. The Meetings of the Society shall take place once at least during each term: the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

XV. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode: and one month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

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VI. LIST OF COMMUNICATIONS (No. XXV) ISSUED WITH THE PRESENT REPORT, BEING PART III OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

PAGE

XIII. On some bronze Etruscan mirrors with engraved reverses. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A. (with 7 plates) . . 185

XIV. Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-book, with some particulars of school and college expenses in the 16th and 17th centuries. Communicated by the Rev. E. K. Bennet, D.C.L. . . . 201

XV. On Roman coins found at Willingham. Communicated by F. J. H. Jenkinson, M.A. 225

XVI. On an onyx cameo of Marcia in the character of Omphale. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A. 233

XVII. On the Tabula Peutingeriana. Communicated by the Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., M.A. 237

XVIII. On the Tomb of Lady Margaret. Communicated by J. W. Clark, M.A. 265

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 26, 1884.

WITH APPENDIX.

Cambridge:
DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & BOWES.
LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS.
1886.

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Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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REPORT.

In presenting their Forty-fourth Annual Report, the Council have to congratulate the Society upon what may be regarded as an important step in the advancement of antiquarian studies in Cambridge. The collections of the Society have recently been accepted by the University with the promise that they should be adequately housed and arranged—a promise which has now been fully realized by the assignment of a considerable portion of the new Museum of Archaeology and the appointment of Baron Anatole von Hügel as Curator (*University Reporter* for 1883, p. 239). Until the arrangement of the Museum is completed, it cannot be open for more than two hours daily to the public, but it has been especially provided that members of the Society shall have access to it at all reasonable hours.

The first of a series of exhibitions of portraits lent by the University and the Colleges is being now held in the north gallery of the Fitzwilliam Museum, which has been put at the disposal of the Society by Grace of the Senate (see *Reporter*

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for 1883—84, p. 544. 4), at the kind suggestion of the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate. A provisional catalogue of the pictures has been prepared and printed.

We have had two losses from death, and twelve members have retired; but forty-seven have been added to our roll, which now contains 304 members.

One Octavo Publication[1], the *Life of Caleb Parnham, Fellow of S. John's College*, 1716—1737, and No. XXIV of our *Reports and Communications* have been issued. No. XXV is nearly ready; No. XXVI, as well as several illustrated works upon the topography of the County and other branches of archaeology are in preparation.

Two excursions have been made, to Thetford last August and to Ely in October; on each occasion papers of permanent interest were read and the Society was most hospitably entertained by our members resident in the locality.

Four Societies have been added to the list of Societies in correspondence for the exchange of publications:

The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (January 28, 1884).

The Surrey Archaeological Society (February 18, 1884).

The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (May 12, 1884).

Der Verein für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (May 12, 1884).

[1] There is a misprint on the title page of this book; "Ufford-cum-Bainton, Yorkshire" should be "Ufford-cum-Bainton, Northamptonshire".

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APPENDIX.

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CONTENTS OF APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Abstract of Proceedings during the year ending May 26, 1884 .	cvii
II.	List of Council elected May 26, 1884	cxxxviii
III.	Summary of Accounts for the year ending Dec. 31, 1883 . .	cxxxix
IV.	List of Presents received during the year ending May 26, 1884 .	cxl
V.	Laws (revised Feb. 28, 1881)	cxlvi
VI.	List of Communications issued with the present Report . .	cxlviii

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I. AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 26, 1884.

October 22, 1883. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. R. Black, 3 Mortimer Road.
J. B. Bradbury, Esq., M.D., Caius College.
W. O. Hewlett, Esq., 2 Raymond Buildings, W.C.
A. Jones, Esq., Trumpington House.
G. M. Sayle, Esq., Southery House.
Rev. J. D. Williams, M.A., Bottisham Vicarage.

Mr RIDGEWAY exhibited two Roman coins lately found in Cottenham Fen—a *middle brass* of Trajan and a *denarius* of Alexander Severus, *rev.* SPES · PVBLICA Hope advancing to left and holding the flower of immortality: also an unpublished Ely copper token, WILLIAM · GOTOBED. 1662 ELEY: on a shield ermine three Ely crowns in chief.

Mr LEWIS exhibited a plated *denarius* of Trajan (COS. VI. = 112 A.D.) found last July near the surface in a field opposite to Cavendish College; and also nine fragments of pre-historic Mexican pottery from Southern Utah, presented by Mr E. A. Barber, of Philadelphia.

The PRESIDENT then delivered the following address:

"In taking the chair for the first time as President of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, I will crave your indulgence while I say a few words on one or two subjects of special interest to the Society at the present time.

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Before entering upon them, however, I must thank you for your kindness in placing me in the responsible office of President. It is almost a waste of words to say that your selection of myself was most gratifying to me; for it shewed me that the body in this University which is most capable of forming a judgment upon antiquarian subjects did not regard me as such a trespasser upon ground where I had no business, as I was disposed to regard myself. In these days, when knowledge is so highly specialised, anybody who enters upon a new field of research late in life, and even then can devote only a small portion of his time to it, labours under very great disadvantages. My own special devotion to antiquarian research dates only from the period when it was forced upon me by the accident of inheriting the MS. of the work on the Architectural History of this University to which my uncle the late Professor Willis had devoted, first and last, some twenty years of his life, and to which it seems not improbable that I shall devote an equal number; and if that work (a *damnosa hereditas* as I am sometimes disposed to regard it) should ever see the light, it will be through the kind and energetic help which I have received from several members of this Society, and especially from one of our former Presidents, Mr Bradshaw. On the other hand the list of those who have preceded me in this office made me extremely diffident in venturing to succeed them. They have all been distinguished in special studies directly connected with the work of the Society. Our late President, whose severe illness must cause, I am sure, the greatest grief not only to us, but to the whole University, was widely known for his researches on the topography of Rome; and his predecessor, Professor Hughes, brought his geological acquirements to the elucidation of pre-historic and early historic periods, with a success which those who have attended our late meetings can appreciate in part, and which I hope will shortly be made known to the general public in the new Museum. It is not too much to say that he has brought to our knowledge a new department of our local antiquities; which, if we only exercise proper care and watchfulness, may be developed to an almost indefinite extent. With these two immediate predecessors, and with so many distinguished persons in the Society any one of whom would, I feel sure, have made a better President than myself, I might have hesitated before I accepted the very flattering offer of the Council of the Society, had it not been for one consideration. As I have spent rather more than twenty years of my life as Superintendent of a Museum, I thought that I might be of special use to the Society at a time when there is a reasonable prospect of seeing displayed in suitable rooms the collections which have been gradually accumulated since the first establishment of the Society in 1839. Negotiations are now in progress between the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate and ourselves, the object of which is to transfer our collections to the University, on the condition of rooms being assigned to them, and a specially qualified Curator appointed to take charge of them. If these

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negotiations be carried to a successful issue, and if the University accept the joint proposal that will probably be made to it in the course of the present Term, a most important step will have been taken for the preservation and illustration of our local antiquities. You will remember that the first Law of the Society used to be "that the Society be for the encouragement of the study of the History and Antiquities of the University, Town, and County of Cambridge;" and though that Law has since been widened, the claims of our own immediate neighbourhood are still tacitly recognised as of primary importance; and I look forward to the time when the Antiquarian Museum will be accepted by those bodies as the natural home of all the antiquities which may be discovered, or which at present are lying hid in private collections. In Denmark there is a law that every antiquarian object, as soon as found, must be offered to the Government, who, if they care to possess it, give a fair price for it; and I hope that an unwritten enactment of a similar character may be sanctioned by custom here. The ridicule which used to be cast upon antiquarian research has now, I am glad to say, become a thing of the past; and it is allowed on all sides that fragments of pottery, worked flints, and ancient weapons are as indispensable to students of history, as the bones of extinct animals are to those who would understand the sequence of life on the globe. Those who have read Sir John Lubbock's fascinating work—"Prehistoric Times"—will remember the way in which he elucidates the use to which such objects as, for example, worked flints, were put by our forefathers, by comparison with the tools and weapons still employed by existing savage races. As these races are rapidly diminishing in number, or, through intercourse with white men, giving up their ancestral customs, it is important to form collections of their arms and implements without loss of time. Two such collections, of great extent and value, formed in Fiji and the South Sea generally, have lately been deposited in my charge by the Hon. Sir A. Gordon, M.A., of Trinity College, and A. P. Maudslay, M.A., of Trinity Hall, and will not improbably be increased by a third. These I propose to entrust to the safe keeping of the Society in the new rooms, where they will be joined by a collection of objects from the Lake Dwellings of Switzerland, presented by our Secretary. These collections—which will no doubt attract donations of a similar character—will form no inconsiderable portion of the Antiquarian Museum; and will serve as the nucleus of a collection specially illustrating the Natural History of Man, for which the University already possesses a rich store of material in the great series of crania formed by the late Dr Thurnam, and presented to the University some years ago by Professor Humphry. This series is displayed for the present in the Museum of Human Anatomy, and I am sometimes tempted to regret that the Society is about to move to a somewhat distant home; for it would have been desirable in my opinion, to keep all the collections which illustrate parts of the same subject either in the same Museum, or at least in adjoining

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buildings; and if a Professor or Reader in the now popular science of Anthropology should eventually be appointed, it is from these collections that he will look for illustrations of his lectures.

I am glad to be able to congratulate the Society on the continued increase in the number of members, due in great measure to the zeal of our Secretary, and also, I feel sure, to the interest of our meetings, and the value of our publications. These, as you are aware, are divided into *Communications*, and *Octavo Publications*. The latter are of a somewhat miscellaneous character, consisting partly of original essays, partly of editions of works which had previously existed in manuscript only. Of works which fall under the later category, and directly illustrate the History of the University and Town, there are still a great number, which it is hardly creditable, in these days of historical research, to leave much longer unprinted. For instance, if the early Grace-Books and Account-books of the University, and the Accounts of King's Hall, were carefully printed, after the manner of the series published under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls, a flood of light would be thrown upon the early history of the University. Until the end of the seventeenth century it was the custom to enter accounts in detail, instead of in gross; and therefore Account-books are the most certain sources of knowledge of the manners and customs of early times. I may also mention that Dr Caius' Annals of his own College have never been printed; nor does there exist any special collection of the Wills of the Founders and Benefactors, and of the Members of the University in general. Without these original sources of information however, the history of University Institutions, and the accurate dates of special foundations, must remain in those regions of fable which are governed by tradition. I am aware that the publication of such a series as I should like to see issued would involve great labour, and great expense; but I am sanguine enough to hope that if a definite announcement were made by this Society that they were about to commence a special series of editions of works such as those I have mentioned, a large number of additional members would be at once obtained, and that many competent persons would offer their services as editors. These are, however, merely suggestions for future action which I respectfully submit to your consideration. I feel that I have already trespassed too long upon your forbearance, and am detaining you from the proper business of the evening."

The Rev. G. F. Browne, who described last year a number of the more famous of the sculptured stones in the north of England, proceeded to describe "some sculptured stones of Anglian character in Lothian (Abercorn, Morham, &c.), and some recently discovered sculptured stones in Durham and Yorkshire (Auckland, Cawthorne, Chester-le-Street, Filey, Gilling, Kirk-Levington, Northallerton, Ripon, Whitby, York, &c.)." His remarks were illustrated by a large number of outlined rubbings of the stone crosses

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and other objects to which he alluded. He began with the stones in Lothian, because he believed it could be shewn that a certain character was impressed upon the best stones from the Forth to the Humber. And if that was so, it pointed to the conclusion that that character was impressed upon them at a time when the whole of that territory was one, ecclesiastically and politically. The stones in Scotland south of the Forth differed entirely from those north of the river, of which latter Mr Browne shewed very fine specimens from Pitfour and Dunfallandy. The stones north of the Forth were for the most part flat stones, with crosses and figures sculptured on them. The stones south of the Forth were entirely of the nature of pillar stones, with the four sides sculptured. With regard to ornamentation, the characteristic difference was that the finest stones from the Forth to the Humber bore upon them scrolls, of very great grace and beauty; while among the whole of the stones in the Pictish parts of Scotland there was only one instance of a decided scroll of the classical character, and that stone, curiously enough, was the only one in those parts which bore an inscription, in Roman minuscules. The time when the whole of the district was under one management, politically and ecclesiastically, was very well defined, and the dates of such monuments as were dated brought them to the earlier part of that period. The pillar at Bewcastle had beautiful scrolls on it, and it bore runes declaring that it was set up in memory of Alchfrid, who died in 664. But a case where perhaps the date was more clear was found at Hackness. He shewed rubbings of the various sides of the Hackness fragment, bearing scrolls of much beauty; also one of the numerous inscriptions on the stone, which were in Roman letters and in Anglian runes and in tree runes, shewing that Oedilburga was the person whom the stone commemorated. She was abbess of Hackness at King Aldfrid's death in 705. Mr Browne shewed other examples of these very graceful scrolls, on stones at York, Northallerton, and elsewhere. After shewing the various faces of the beautiful stone at Abercorn, the edges and back bearing scrolls of much elegance, he shewed the four faces of another stone in Lothian, of which two of the sides bore panels all but identical with panels in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells, while the other sides bore scrolls of very remarkable beauty. He shewed also an elegant scroll from a stone at Morham, near Haddington, and mentioned several other like stones in Lothian. Proceeding to Chester-le-Street he shewed a number of stones found this year. One was a shaft, bearing a man on horseback—a most unusual feature on an English stone—with two dragons bearing down upon him from above, and on them was inscribed, in Roman and Runic characters mixed, the word EADMVND. Edmund accompanied his brother Athelstane to Chester-le-Street, on his way to repel an inroad from the north, and on that occasion Athelstane made very rich offerings at the shrine of St Cuthbert. The other stones found were portions of the largest socket stones in which the shafts of the crosses had

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been placed. They were sculptured on all sides with subjects. One of those subjects was a figure trampling on a dragon, with a figure on either side having a head not human. Mr Browne shewed a number of rubbings from stones of pairs of figures of this description; with heads one of which might be that of a fox and the other a cock. He thought they were not the heads of evangelists, but he shewed from the Ilkley stones beautifully wrought representations of the evangelists carrying books, the head of each surrounded by a glory, the heads themselves being those of a man, a leopard, a calf, and an eagle. Mr Browne shewed illustrations of the pair of figures from Gilling, Ilkley, and Kirk-Levington, from which last place he shewed rubbings of a large number of rude but interesting fragments found in the recent restoration of the church. He shewed a stone at Bishop Auckland bearing a continuous scroll, in the members of which were birds and animals feeding on fruit, and he pointed out various stages in the decadence of these scrolls. The first idea was that developed at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, the Christian tree of life in which birds and animals rested and fed in peace and plenty. He believed the early teachers meant to contrast this tree with the ash, which was the object of pagan worship, and he shewed a fragment of a fine shaft at York, on one side of which were two harts feeding on fruit, probably two of the four harts which the pagan Saxons represented as feeding on the ash tree, while on the other side was a beautiful series of scrolls with grapes and wheat-ears, representing the Christian vine and the true bread, that being the first idea of the scroll. The stone at Auckland, which was of later date, introduced the idea of sporting, and on it was represented a man lurking among the scrolls and taking aim with his bow and arrow at one of the animals. The head of the man was beautifully cut, and he wore a tight skull cap and a pair of very carefully trimmed moustaches, but no other hair about his face. That circumstance pointed to the later period of the Saxon Monarchy, up to which period the Saxons had worn beards. In the manuscript of Aldhelm's treatise *De Virginitate* were scrolls with beautifully wrought lions and other animals involved in them, but the animals were quite stiff, the scrolls were there merely for ornamentation, and not as representing life and peace and plenty. After the Norman Conquest a scroll of like character was to be found, at the west door of Lincoln Cathedral. But there the departure from the original was still greater, for not only was there a man below, attempting to slay one of the animals, but in the member above was another man engaged in a similar attempt. Mr Browne then shewed a group of rubbings from a remarkable cylindrical pillar at Masham. In the upper part were two tiers of Scripture subjects in romanesque arcades, and at the bottom was another tier which had been unearthed only a year or two. It contained a series of quadrupeds with proudly arched necks. The head of each animal was brought near to the breast, one fore paw was uplifted, and the animal was hampered by an halter winding in loops round and round its neck, and also

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by similar bands twisting round its legs. He had found nothing like this on any other stone; but on the remarkable Runic casket in the museum at Brunswick, which Professor Stephens, in his great work on Runic monuments, shewed to be a casket of Northumbrian work, there were quadrupeds of almost exactly the same character and hampered in the same way. Mr Browne had looked through the coins of all the early kings of England, and only on the coins of one series of kings had he found quadrupeds holding up one fore paw; these were the kings of Northumbria from about 690 to 800. Mr Browne then shewed rubbings of two stones which he had found high up in a buttress of the north transept of Ripon minster, a portion of that cathedral which had remained almost untouched since it was built by Archbishop Roger in 1160. The two churches in Ripon were built in Wilfrid's time, were probably much damaged by the Danes, and finally destroyed about 948. Archbishop Odo of Canterbury did something to restore Ripon, but Archbishop Roger declared that he had to begin it *de novo*. There seemed then no period at which stones of such very beautiful and intricate design, and of such excellent workmanship, could have been wrought in Ripon between the palmy time of Christianity and Christian art introduced by Wilfrid, and the time of Roger, when apparently these stones were used as building stones and put out of sight. He believed that these were the imposts of an important door of one of the original Saxon stone churches in Ripon. He shewed a beautifully wrought impost of the same character which at the present time was *in situ* at Kirkby, near Borough Bridge. He next pointed to a strongly Hibernian impost still used for the spring of the chancel arch in the church at Hackness, markedly resembling the details of the Lindisfarne and other Hibernian manuscripts. By the kindness of the Dean of Ripon he was enabled to produce an actual stone which had been dug up a few weeks ago from a depth of seven feet in the churchyard of the Minster. It was a portion of the boss and of one arm of a very delicately carved Saxon cross, of the same family, he thought, as a much ruder fragment which was taken from Ripon to York forty years ago, and which bore the name "Adhuse," a name inscribed in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*. It had always been a question why no Anglian stones were found at Whitby, a place so full of interest in connexion with the earliest times of Christianity. His own answer had always been that the monastic buildings so very much more than covered the whole of the original ground, that the Anglian relics, as would be the case with those in immediate connexion with the Saxon cathedral at York, would be hidden under ground that might never be disturbed. But in the course of the last month or two he had heard of an Anglian stone at Whitby and had got a rubbing of it, which he now shewed. There had also been found at Whitby a stone prepared for the head of a cross, but entirely unfinished, apparently nothing more than the first shaping of a cross head out of a piece of flagstone. Across this there was engraved a name, of which he had got a rubbing, but upon the

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reading of which he would not venture as he had not seen the stone itself. It was found in a quarry on the cliff near the sea, and was probably being made when the Danes came and destroyed everything; a similar explanation would account for the state of newness in which some of the sculptured fragments were unearthed or taken out of the foundations of the early walls of churches. Some of the later sculptures might perhaps have been wrought by the Danes themselves, after they settled down; but it should be remembered that the Danes were on the whole so pagan that apostacy became frequent among the Saxons in England.

Mr Browne then shewed four of the eight faces of two remarkable fonts of square shape which he had seen in the grounds of Mr Spencer Stanhope, at Cannon Hall, on his visit to a recently found cross head and shaft at Cawthorne. The Cawthorne cross bore several examples of an ornament which he had not seen elsewhere, resembling four segments less than semi-circles with their bases coinciding with portions of the sides of a square. The head of the cross was very large and bold, resembling four crosses displayed on stems on sides of the fonts. The main portion of the fragment of the shaft was occupied by the ape-like figure of a human being from the waist downwards, portions of the hands appearing just below the line of fracture. By the kindness of the Rev. C. T. Pratt, of Cawthorne, he was able to shew a plaster cast of this remarkable face of the stone and of one of the edges. The only known ornamentation at all like this consisted of four triangles similarly arranged, found on a cross at Brompton and in an 8th or 9th century MS. at Trèves, and elsewhere; but there was really no resemblance. Mr Browne shewed rubbings of two remarkable stones from Kirkdale church, and at the same time the well-known Saxon dedication stone of the church, which set forth that Orm, son of Gamal, bought St Gregorius' minster when it was "ael tobrocan & tofalan," and that he "hit let macan newan from grunde in Eadward dagum cyning and Tosti dagum eorl." The great interest of one of the stones, in itself very beautiful, was, that it bore in runes, now very fast disappearing[1], the words "Oethilwald cyning." Oethilwald was the son of Oswald, and gave Lastingham to St Chad. Mr Browne then proceeded to shew rubbings of a number of crosses in Yorkshire which still retain the whole or a portion of the head. One of the finest of these was at Stonegrave, where the head was in the form of a wheel cross and the shaft was completely covered on the face and back with very intricate tracery, and had also two figures and a cross, while the sides of the shaft were ornamented with various small panels of work of Celtic and Anglian types. Another stone of those at Stonegrave bore what might be a representation of a wolf and a raven. In connexion with the Stonegrave collection he suggested that the name itself might have a real significance. He next had to shew an almost perfect though smaller cross at

[1] Mr Browne was having these stones photographed before it was quite too late.

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Brompton; a still smaller cross with a wheel head at Kirby Moorside; and a large number of heads of crosses, the largest of all being the boss and one arm of a cross at Lastingham, very intricately ornamented and larger than the head of the great cross at Iona, or, as far as he could determine, of any cross in Great Britain. He shewed the four faces of a shaft in this crypt, all the details of which were highly Celtic; among them was the well-known inverted Z pattern, and he found that pattern embossed on the only piece he had looked at of the prehistoric Mexican pottery shewn that evening. Another cross was one found some years ago at Bilton, near Tadcaster, the boss of which was placed in a quatrefoil formed by the arms of four men whose bodies were in the four arms of the cross while the hands of each were stretched out above his head grasping a hand of each of his neighbour's. The shaft of this cross was remarkable as bearing a man holding a large knife and a woman with a figure exactly resembling the "spectacle" ornament which was one of the three unique symbols of the Pictish stones in Scotland. In Scotland it was usually associated with a broken sceptre, but in the two instances which he had shewn at Dunfallandy the stones had no sceptre and were to all appearance identical with that on the Bilton stone. He suggested that this cross might have been set up in commemoration of the slaughter of Uhtred, Earl of Northumbria, who was killed in the presence of King Canute at an unidentified place called Wiheal. In all probability Canute came by the Wharfe and landed at Tadcaster, and Uhtred came from York to make his submission, and the next place between Bilton, the spot where the cross was found, and Tadcaster was Wighill. Another Earl of Northumbria was assassinated soon after, and in his case a *parvula crux* was set up. After shewing a number of other rubbings, and leaving undescribed a large number more, Mr Browne said his great desire was that some one should undertake to produce for the stones of England some work on the same scale of magnitude as that which Dr Stuart had produced for Scotland. He wished to impress upon the Society what a very large amount of material had been found and was being found every year. He thought that a book such as he suggested should take a general view of the stones of all districts, and he knew of no body but a great University that could undertake such a work. There was an idea in Durham that the local Societies of Antiquaries might produce a book upon the sculptured stones of the county of Durham only. Any work done under those auspices would be well done. But if, as he had said, there was a similarity of character among the sculptured stones from the Forth to the Humber, it would be a misfortune that the subject should not be treated scientifically as a whole. He felt sure that local Societies would give their help, and it was clear that their help would be necessary for such a great work. He should be very glad if in bringing the subject before this Society, he had done anything towards persuading the Pitt Press Syndicate to undertake some work of the kind.

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The PRESIDENT said they ought to be most grateful to Mr Browne for having conducted his remarkable explorations, and come there on two occasions to tell the Society about them. The discoveries of which they had been told that evening seemed to furnish one more illustration of the saying that if one looked for a thing one would be sure to find it. He quite agreed with Mr Browne as to the desirability of having these things perpetuated, and he should certainly be very glad if the Pitt Press Syndicate thought proper to undertake the work. It was obvious that there was only one person who could write such a work as was proposed, and that person was Mr Browne himself.

Professor SKEAT said he thought something of the same kind was said on the last occasion on which Mr Browne addressed them on the subject. He much wished that something might render it practicable that the proposed great work should be begun without delay. He hoped it would not be lost sight of. Mr Browne had already proved that the book when begun should not be finished at once; it would be a pity to attempt to finish it too soon, seeing how much had been discovered even during the past year. It seemed to him that whoever undertook the work should undertake it in its entirety. The work must be done with the aid of a comparison of the largest number of facts obtainable. Mr Browne had shewn he was the right person to do it, and that it should be done thoroughly and as a whole. He only hoped that Cambridge would not lose such an opportunity.

November 12, 1883. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. G. Crabbe, B.A., Merton Rectory, Watton.
Rev. N. M. Ferrers, D.D., Master of Caius College.
J. Jennings, Esq., 21 St James's Street, S.W.
Prof. A. Macalister, M.A., F.R.S., St John's College.
J. B. Mullinger, Esq., M.A., St John's College.
C. L. Palmer, Esq., Emmanuel House.
Rev. S. G. Ponsonby, M.A., Trinity College.
M. Robertson, Esq., D.Sc. (Lond.), Minver House.
Rev. G. H. Sing, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
Prof. W. Robertson Smith, M.A., Trinity College.

The following communication was read from the Rev. J. W. E. CONYBEARE, Vicar of Barrington, on certain stones discovered in the river bed at Barrington during October, 1883:

During the past month one of the two water-mills mentioned in Doomsday as belonging to Barrington has been done away with, and

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the foundations dug out from the river bed. Amongst these foundations were discovered 13 large blocks of clunch (18 × 12 × 6 inches) boldly carved on one face (18 × 6 in.) with egg and dark moulding. The blocks were laid flat with the moulding embedded in gault, part being in some cases cut away for the sake of making a closer fit to the adjoining stone. The preservation of the work is in several parts of exquisite clearness.

It seems most probable that we have here fragments of some large Roman building, as the foundations of the mill have not been renewed within living memory or tradition, which renders the only other possible explanation of the presence of such work in such a position—that it formed part of some eighteenth-century mansion—exceedingly unlikely. That some such large Roman building existed in the immediate neighbourhood may be conjectured from the very numerous ash-pits of that period found while digging the adjoining field for coprolites, and from an almost complete series of coins having been unearthed in the parish, covering the whole period of the Roman occupation. The ash-pits referred to contained the usual bones, with fragments of coarse pottery (in one instance of Samian bearing the mark CIRSTIO TITI), and seemed to belong to poor houses, perhaps slaves' quarters, indicating the neighourhood of some larger edifice of which they were dependencies. In this connexion it is interesting to find that the next field, sloping down to the river—the very ideal of a Roman site—has from time immemorial been called "The Brick Hall," and is mentioned by that name in documents of the 14th century.

That the lately destroyed mill stood on one of the sites mentioned in Doomsday may be considered fairly proved from the fact that a hollow way leads down to the river here; and that in digging the close above the mill the dimensions of the ancient mill-pond (of very large size) were traced, and fragments of mediæval pottery, some possibly Norman, found in it.

The stones in question are being carefully preserved by the owner, the Rev. R. Bendyshe of Barrington Hall, and are in the custody of his tenant, Mr F. Coote, Ivy Cottage, Barrington.

The SECRETARY read a paper by Mr C. W. King upon a silver statuette of *Fortuna Nemesis*, which he exhibited. (*Communications*, Vol. V, No. XIX.)

The PRESIDENT gave an account of the architectural development of the Schools quadrangle, Senate-house, &c., the substance of which will appear in Professor Willis's forthcoming work.

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December 3, 1883. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

J. H. Flather, Esq., M.A., Cavendish College.
J. H. Fordham, Esq., Melbourn Bury.
Rev. H. Hall, M.A., St Paul's Vicarage.
T. Jones, Esq., Middle Temple.
W. Lovell, Esq., 13 Brunswick Walk.
C. Waldstein, Esq., M.A., King's College.

Mr Alfred P. Maudslay, M.A., of Trinity Hall, gave an account of his recent explorations in Central America.

He began by reminding his hearers that a mystery had always hung round the early American Indian civilisation, that no one knew who were the builders of the many ruined cities now hidden away in the depths of a tropical forest, and that no one could read a word of the inscriptions which cover many of the monuments and are engraved on the walls of the temples.

After pointing out on the map the part of Central America between the south of Mexico and the north of Honduras, over which his own travels had extended, and making some remarks on the present distribution of population, Mr Maudslay went on to give a description of the ruins which he had himself visited known as Copan, Quirigua, Tikal and Menché, all of which lie within or on the borders of the republic of Guatemala.

Tikal was described as the ruin of a city of considerable size, containing a number of stone houses one and two stories high still in fair preservation. The roofs are all high-pitched stone gables, and no trace of an arch could be found. The lintels of the doorways were made of durable wood of the Sapote, and are often found shewing no signs of decay. The town is laid out on a rectangular plan, the ground being terraced, and when there is any difference of level, the slopes are faced with carefully-laid squared stones. The principal feature of the city is the five temples, each raised on pyramidal foundations, the height of the whole structure from the ground to the top of the temple measuring in one instance over 250 ft. The interesting carved wooden beams from the doorways of these temples are now preserved in a museum in Switzerland.

Menché is situated on the lowest point of the banks of the River Usumacinta ever reached with safety in a canoe, and stands in the centre of an almost unknown forest country called the "land of the Lacandones, or Independent Indians." The hill side from the water's edge to the height of 250 ft. is cut into a series of terraces, on which are built rows of

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houses and temples, and the slopes are everywhere faced with well-laid masonry. The town is quite a small one, but the temples are of great interest, and shew traces of having been decorated externally with rows of seated plaster figures, sometimes of heroic size, and probably brilliantly coloured. The carving of the under-side of the lintels of the doorways, which in Menché are of stone, is particularly fine, and a cast from one of these sculptures is amongst the best specimens exhibited in the lecture-room.

Mr Maudslay then described the ruins of Quirigua, which he had twice previously visited, and to which, this year, he had devoted the whole of his time and attention. Having shipped a large amount of material from England, which included four tons of plaster and a large quantity of moulding paper, he arrived at Quirigua in February, accompanied by Mr Guintini, a skilled worker in plaster, and Mr Blockley, a qualified surveyor, and although somewhat delayed by the sickness and desertion of his Indian labourers, before the end of May he had succeeded in taking a complete set of moulds of the tables of hieroglyphics carved on the large monoliths, and Mr Guintini had finished a plaster mould in six hundred pieces of the great stone turtle, which is perhaps one of the most elaborate and beautiful monuments to be found in Central America.

After giving a detailed account of these ruins and referring to the complete set of photographs of the monuments found at Quirigua, which were exhibited on the walls of the lecture-room, Mr Maudslay discussed at some length the vexed question of the age of these ruins.

He dealt with this question only in regard to the ruins he had himself visited, and the often-described ruin at Palenque.

He traced with great care the journey of Cortez, as described in the celebrated 'Carta quinta,' and in the History of Bernal Diaz, and referred to an interesting map of Tobasco drawn by Melchior de Santa Cruz in the year 1579, which has lately been found in the archives of Seville by Dr Sebastian Marimon. Mr Maudslay is of opinion that after crossing the Usumacinta near Tenosique, Cortez must have marched to the River San Pedro, and that it is at the junction of the rivers Yachilan and San Pedro that the ruins of the townships of Aculá will be found. Mr Maudslay then referred to the conquest of Chiapa by Louis Marin, that of Guatemala by Pedro de Alvarado, and the missionary expeditions of Las Casas into Suzulutlan, then known as the Sierra de Guerra and afterwards as the Vera Paz, and shewed how from these accounts it was possible to draw a complete circle round the mysterious land of the Lacandones, without meeting with any reference to the important cities and the advanced civilisation which must once have existed there.

Mr Maudslay then referred to a visit he had recently made to Seville, and to the immense number of important documents stored away in

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the archives of the Indies in that city, and dwelt on the kindness and generosity shewn to him by Dr Sebastian Marimon, who had supplied him with copies of some extremely interesting manuscripts, which in the course of a laborious search he had discovered amongst these archives.

Amongst these was an account of an expedition made by the Governor Barrios Leal in the year 1695 into the land of the Lacandones and letters from Fray Diego de Ribas and the Padre Magil, who were attached to his party. This and subsequent expeditions explored the river Lacandon as far as its junction with the Usumacinta. The country is described as a land of almost impenetrable forests and no traces of any existing Indian civilisation were met with. The Lacandones themselves are described as living in much the same state of barbarism as that in which Mr Maudslay found them when he visited them last year.

Mr Maudslay then summed up the evidence he has so far been able to collect as follows:—

We know that the first Europeans who entered the country passed close to Palenque without knowing of its existence.

We never find the land of the Lacandones mentioned by the early settlers as a rich or civilised country. It appears to have been undisturbed for 150 years, and when visited at the end of that period (1695) we know it to have been a land of almost impenetrable forests, and that the inhabitants were the same Lacandones whom Bernal Diaz mentions as being at war with the people of Acalá.

We have a carefully recorded statement of the condition of the Lacandones in 1695, which proves them to have been then living as they are now, in a state of barbarism, their arts not rising above the manufacture of very rude grotesque pottery, the weaving of a very rough fibre cloth, and the chipping of stone arrowheads.

Mr Maudslay therefore considered that the balance of evidence favoured the idea that Palenque and Menché had ceased to exist as living towns at the time of the Spanish Conquest.

At the conclusion of the lecture, which had been listened to with evident interest by a large audience, the PRESIDENT drew attention to the beauty of the photographs and casts which Mr Maudslay had been able to take, and expressed a hope that the University would associate itself with his explorations by making a liberal grant to him from the Worts Fund.

A discussion having been invited,

Professor HUGHES expressed his appreciation of the value of a communication like that which they had just received, where the author exhibited casts, almost as good as the objects themselves, and so clearly described the circumstances under which they were found. He recollected however, discussions that had arisen in the Society as to the mixture with

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native forms in Central America of others which seemed as if they must point to a not very remote eastern origin, and he remembered that even the idea of a somewhat recent Atlantis had been suggested to account for it. Among the objects now exhibited with some Egyptian looking figures there were some having rather a mediæval European character. For instance, there was a mediæval bravo holding a large sort of *baton de commandement* over a crouching native. There was a round ornament like an enlarged coin of Castile and a Laocoon-like group.

With regard to the hieroglyphics, he remembered how upon British imitations of the gold Philippus the quadriga in the hands of native workmen became more and more obscure until it was quite as like a head of Medusa as a four-horse chariot; and looking over one slab before them he noticed all kinds of conventional representations of the human head, the lines of which became more and more broken up until the figure looked like a compound hieroglyph. He would ask the author whether it was not common in these inscriptions to find a repetition of some single object. Also whether speaking generally the sculptures were such as could be evolved in the country with perhaps here and there a curious accidental approach to eastern forms, or whether the combination of eastern forms was so great as to render the theory of independent origin improbable, or whether the evidence he had collected would allow us to support the view that the makers, while going back to an unknown antiquity, lingered on till the mediæval invasion of eastern people, when native workmen began to introduce European forms among the old traditional types of sculptured ornament.

January 28, 1884. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

Rev. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, M.A., Jesus College.
Rev. A. C. Jennings, M.A. (Jesus College), Whittlesford.
A. P. Maudslay, Esq., Trinity Hall.
H. S. Rathbone, Esq., Manchester.
H. W. Underdown, Esq., Pembroke College.

Mr A. G. WRIGHT, of Newmarket, exhibited a rough grey British terra-cotta vase, six inches high and five and a half inches wide at the top, with five flint flakes and some fragments of charcoal and of the bones of some ruminant, which had been found in the summer of 1882, a little to the west of Upper Hare Park: with the vase were exhibited a first brass of Hadrian, *rev.* ABUNDANTIA, and a middle brass of Maximianus, *rev.* GENIO · POPVLI ·

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ROMANI, in the exergue TR; and a terra cotta fragment of a handle; found during the levelling of some mounds on Newmarket Heath in 1883.

Mr BOWES read a paper upon the University Printers from John Siberch in 1521, down to the end of the last century. (*Communications*, Vol. V, No. XX.)

Mr J. W. CLARK supplemented Mr Bowes's paper by exhibiting and explaining a plan of the district now occupied by the Senate House, Caius College, and adjacent buildings, upon which he shewed the positions of the houses of the earlier printers.

Mr BRADSHAW remarked upon the importance of carrying through the two wholly distinct processes of research, (1) examining the books, and (2) searching through all Registers which relate to the printers of them. Either, if carried on alone, often gave an erroneous idea to the worker. He suggested that all the Parish Registers and such books might be searched, and copies made of everything that concerns the Cambridge printers, as had been done at Bruges by Mr Weale, and that a systematic collection of Cambridge printed books should be made, as was being done to some extent at the Free Library, and as had been done for Oxford so thoroughly by Mr F. Madan, of the Bodleian library. Mr Bowes's paper was likely to give just such an impetus to the investigation, that we might hope to incite others to contribute to the work on this as a satisfactory basis.

Mr A. P. HUMPHRY suggested that Mr Bowes should further use the abundant materials collected by him, for a history of the University printing business with special regard to its exclusive privileges. Probably the first University printer, Siberch, had no peculiar privileges; but in 1534 Henry VIII. granted to the University a Charter enabling them to appoint three printers with the right to print "omnimodos libros." This privilege, from its not having been exercised so far as we know for about 50 years, would seem to have had at first but little commercial value. From 1583 onwards the existence of printed books, and records of quarrels with the London Stationers' Company, and between the University printers in partnership with each other, shew that the business had some value. Afterwards there came attacks by the King's Printers upon the right of the University, based upon the general terms of the Charter of Henry VIII., to print Bibles and Acts of Parliament, these attacks culminating in the suit Baskett *v.* Bentham, which, after lasting 15 years, ended decisively in favour of the University. He felt sure that Mr Bowes, with the materials at his disposal, would be able to fill in the details of such a history and make it of the greatest interest.

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Mr Mullinger brought under the attention of the meeting a volume (small quarto) from the library of St John's College (Gg. 6. 41), without date or either printer's or author's name, which he submitted was probably a production of the Cambridge Press during Thomas's time, but anterior to any of the volumes of 1584 bearing his imprint. The title of the book was, *An Abstract of certaine Acts of parliament: of certaine her Maiesties Iniunctions: of certaine Canons, Constitutions, and Synodalles prouinciall; established and in force, for the peaceable gouernment of the Church, within her Maiesties Dominions and Countries.* It was attributed by Baker, in a manuscript note, to Robert Beale, a diplomatist and author of the Elizabethan period, who, in the opinion of Cooper (*Athenae*, II. 311) was probably educated at Cambridge. The supposition that the volume was a production of the Cambridge Press was founded on the apparent identity (which had been pointed out by Mr Sinker, the librarian of Trinity College[1]) of several of the embellishments with those of volumes bearing Thomas's imprint: *e.g.* the ornament at the head of the title-page with that on the second leaf of *Two Treatises on the Lord's Supper*, by Rouspeau and De l'Espine, printed by Thomas in 1584; the ornament on p. 3 with that on the first page of signature A of James Pilkington's *Exposition of Nehemiah*, printed by Thomas in 1585, and also of an initial T with another in the same volume; and again, the very characteristic tail ornament at the end of the Preface, with one in Whitaker's book against Stapylton (Thomas, 1585). There was also an apparent identity in the type used with some of the type in Thomas's volumes.

The fact that the author spoke (p. 217) of twenty-four years having elapsed since the death of Mary, shewed that the treatise must have been written about 1582, and was probably printed in the early part of 1583, *i.e.* before the seizure of the Cambridge press and its printed sheets (May, 1583) among which, it is on record, was a work of the celebrated Whitaker, master of St John's. Cambridge was at that time a great centre of Puritanism; and the work itself, although entirely free from scurrility like that of the Marprelate Tracts, was evidently written by one who sympathised with the Puritans. The press had not, at this time, received its licence (which would have made it necessary to append the printer's name), and it accordingly seemed probable that Thomas, who was himself considered to belong to the Puritan party, published the work in its anonymous form.

Mr Bradshaw pointed out the unusual character of the signatures in the book, which ran thus A, 2, 3, 4, and so on; an arrangement which ought to afford some help in tracing the printer. He also suggested that

[1] Mr Sinker has since found reasons for modifying this opinion. See his *Catalogue of English Books before* 1601 *in Trinity College Library*, p. 346.

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as the licence to print was given in May, 1583, and in the following month the sheets of Whitaker's work were actually seized in the press, no evidence is wanted to shew that 1583, not 1584, is the first year of the University press. At the same time it would be most interesting to recover a specimen of work done in the earlier year.

February 18, 1884. The Vice-President (the Rev. Professor W. W. Skeat, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

Rev. J. N. Dalton, M.A. (Clare Coll.), Trinity College.
Rev. J. H. Gray, M.A., Queens' College.
F. C. Searle, Esq., B.A., Selwyn College.
G. E. Wherry, Esq., M.A., M.B., &c., Downing College.

Mr Lewis exhibited:

(1) A denarius of Trajan which had been found in July of last year near the surface in a corn-field on the northern side of the Hills Road nearly opposite to Cavendish College: the legend is:

obv. IMP • TRAIANO • AVG • GER • DAC • PM • TRP • COSVI • PP

rev. PM • TRP • COSVI • PP • SPQR,

and the coin is probably an antique forgery, being evidently struck from two dies which do not belong to each other, as part of the inscription is given twice over.

(2) A medal $2\frac{13}{16}$ in. (=7″) in diameter, struck at Paris from the mixed metal (a kind of *Corinthian brass*) found in the ruins of the Tuileries after the palace had been burnt by the Communards:

obv. SOUVENIR • DES • TUILERIES. Bust of France, wearing the cap of Liberty.

rev. METAL • TROUVÉ • DANS • LES • RUINES • DU • PALAIS • DES • TUILERIES • FONDÉ • EN • L'AN 1564, ET • DETRUIT PAR L'INCENDIE LE 24 MAI 1871.

(3) An example in bronze of the medal, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, struck at Berlin to commemorate the silver wedding of the Crown-Prince Frederick William with our own Princess Royal:

obv. Bust of the Prince and Princess conjugated within a wreath of roses upheld by Cupids;

rev. FRIEDR • WILH • KRONPR • D • DEUTSCH • REICHES U • V • PREUSSEN VICTORIA KRONPR • D • DEUTSCH • REICHES U • V • PREUSSEN PR • V • GR • BRITT • U • IRL • ZUR SILBERNEN HOCHZEIT 25 JANUAR 1883.

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Mr HESSELS read "Notes in aid of the study of Mediaeval Glossaries," and began by remarking that the object of his paper was to point out in a few graphic illustrations some of the difficulties in the deciphering of Manuscripts, and the consequent corruptions to which Glossaries had been subject. By doing so it was his wish to prepare the way for a more detailed study of all the symbols which have been used at different times and in different countries to express the vowels and consonants of the documentary and written languages (but chiefly Latin). In speaking of Glossaries, he referred more especially to *Latin*, but all that he was going to say was, in his opinion, equally applicable to English, French and other Glossaries.

The compilation of Glossaries may be said to have ceased about the 16th century, when Dictionaries, properly so called, begin to make their appearance. The sources of all those which originated before that time may be looked for, first of all in the comedians, grammarians, and some later Roman authors, some Fathers of the Church, and more especially in Isidore, the Bishop of Seville, who died in A.D. 636. After Isidore follow a great many more or less unknown Glossators, who either interpreted or corrupted Isidore's collections, while adding, at the same time, some new words to the old ones. In the 11th century Papias made his appearance with large importations of Greek and Hebrew words. Still better known than Papias are Ugucio or Hugutio, who wrote 200 years later, and Johannes de Janua (or Balbus), who flourished in the second half of the 13th century, and whose huge grammar and Lexicon, called *Catholicon*, was printed, for the first time, in 1460, at Mainz, shortly after the invention of printing.

Then there are the MSS. and different editions of the so-called *Vocabularius Ex quo*, printed in the 15th century, the various *Gemmae*, *Gemmae gemmarum*, *Gemmulae*, &c., mostly productions of Germany and the Netherlands. England also largely contributed to the Glossary literature. Every one knows the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, published by Mr Albert Way (1843–53) for the Camden Society. There are further the *Medulla Grammatices*, the *Ortus Vocabulorum*, and a variety of other word lists.

In 1881 the Early English Text Society issued a work entitled *Catholicon Anglicum, an English-Latin Word-book.* It was published from a MS., dated 1483, in the possession of Lord Monson, and another MS. of about the same date, preserved in the British Museum, and closely agreeing with Lord Monson's MS., is stated to have been collated for the edition. The book has been badly edited, as the editor had not sufficiently trained himself for the difficulties which are rather more numerous in MSS. of the 15th century than in those of earlier periods. Moreover, the MSS. themselves are in a very corrupt condition. They present in the most bewildering manner all the errors to which Glossaries have been for centuries, and are still, so peculiarly liable on account of the insulated position of words

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recorded in them. Glossaries contain names of all sorts of strange and uncommon plants, animals, drugs, tools, pieces of furniture, &c., &c., not usually learnt in the school-room. Very often one difficult word is explained by another no less puzzling than the one it is intended to explain. For generations these difficult words have been subjected, not only to the influences of the different pronunciations of copyists, but also to all the misreadings and transmutations which defective human eyes, deceived by the similarity of one letter with another, may bring about.

A close study of the Catholicon, published in 1881, shews that an editor of 1881 may fall into almost the same mistakes as the scribe of 1483; and the errors found in Lord Monson's MS. of 1483, and in that of the British Museum, may be discerned in hundreds of Glossaries besides. The Catholicon may, therefore, be said to contain the key to a great many of the errors found in Du Cange's and Diefenbach's records of glossarial words, which nearly all have arisen from a combination of peculiar *pronunciation*, *misreading* and *miswriting*, so systematic as it were, that forms and words, mutilated almost beyond recognition, can be traced back to the point from whence the corruption commenced, with almost incredible facility and certainty, as soon as you know the mysteries of pronunciation and the peculiarities of the handwriting.

For instance, the two strokes of *n* may be misread as *u* (=*v*), and a scribe, ignorant of the word he has before him, but fond of plain writing, may actually write the symbol *v*; the next transcriber of the word may turn this *v* into *b*; another scribe may turn this into *f* or *p*, and *f* may be turned into *ph*, or the *f*, resembling much the *s*, may actually be turned into *s*, the latter, by pronunciation into *c*, and this again by misreading into *t*. The greatest perplexity is sometimes caused by the strokes of *m*, *n*, *u*, *i*, which are nearly always written alike; *m* alone may be read in four different ways as: *in*, *ui*, *ni*, *iu*; so we have in the Catholicon printed: a*ui*seges, for a*m*seges, an hede land, and scores of other confusions. The very origin of our verb *to glean* is obscure on account of the misreadings to which the strokes of the Mediaeval forms connected with it have been subject. A Greek word, beginning with ξυ, may at last come to commence with *phi*. Thus we find in the Catholicon *filobalsamum*, and in Diefenbach *philobalsamum*, both corrupted from *xylobalsamum* (=Gr. ξυλοβάλσαμον), through *si*lobalsamum; *s* being misread as *f*, and the next scribe turning the latter into *ph*. In the same way *syllogisticus* is turned into *silogisticus*, this into *f*ilogisticus, and this into *ph*ilogisticus. The vowels *a*, *o* and *e* are very often written in such a manner that they cannot be distinguished from each other. Hence words in which one or more of these vowels is found by the side of an *f* or *s*, may become completely altered; so we have in the Catholicon *offatorium* for *assatorium*; *consarcire*, *consertire*, both for *confercire*. A misread *f* being changed into *s*, this may change, by pronunciation into *c*, and so we have *subcercinare* (through *subsercinare*)

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from *subfarcinare*. An *id* may arise from misreading *ul*; hence *clientidus* for *clientulus*; *mod* may arise from a carelessly written *apt*; *ur*, *us* and *con* arose from a misread *a*; *c* and *t* are very often misread, hence *cerale* (itself corrupted from *cereale*), a baking oven, changed into *torale*; *b* may arise from a misread *l* or *l* from *b*; *j* from a misread *r*; *li* from a misread *b*; *l* from *t* and from *k*, and from *f*; *rpi* may come to stand for *rru*; *pi* for *ju*; *p* for *fr*; *r* for *v*, or *v* for *r*; *r* for *c*; *ri* for *u* or *n*; *rp* for *pp*; *u* for *a*, or *a* for *u*, &c.

Professor SKEAT, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr Hessels, made the following remarks:

The particular mistake of *l* for *k* is especially frequent where the *k* is double; thus *lk* occurs for *kk*. Similarly *r* for *p*, when the *p* is double; so that *rp* is for *pp*. With respect to the word *glean*, I would observe that the provincial English *yelm*, a handful, is still in use, so that the old spelling *gleme*, probably equivalent to *gelme* or *yelme*, leads us to connect *glean* with the A. S. *gilm*, a handful, as I have already suggested in my Dictionary. I have observed, in collating *Piers the Plowman*, an instance in which the scribe appears to have been writing from dictation, and to have misheard what was said; hence he wrote a line, which though in itself nonsensical, sounds very much like the true reading, when the words are read aloud with the old pronunciation.

The vote of thanks to Mr Hessels was briefly seconded by Mr Bradshaw, and carried unanimously.

March 3, 1884. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

H. C. Goodhart, Esq., B.A., Trinity College.
Baron A. von Hügel, Curator of the Museum of Local and General Archaeology.

Mr Giles, of Caxton, exhibited and presented to the Society a pair of mill-stones which had recently been found in this county: the upper one, of conglomerate, 10 inches in diameter, came from Caldecote; the nether, of Niedermendig lava, from Caxton.

The SECRETARY read a note by Mr C. W. King "On a Signet of Eros," which was exhibited. (*Communications*, Vol. V, No. XXI.)

The PRESIDENT exhibited some human bones from Burwell, in this county, which Mr Flatman, the proprietor of the clunch-pits in which they

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were found, had been so kind as to present to the Museum of Anatomy. The remains comprised a skull with a considerable portion of the skeleton, evidently of a man of unusually lofty stature; and a second skull. Nothing had been found with the skeletons except some pieces of iron, which could not be referred to any particular period; and part of a *fibula*, consisting of a central circle of bone, surrounded by two rows of small squares of coloured glass in a bronze setting, the whole backed by a thin sheet of bronze.

Professor MACALISTER observed that the identification of the race-character in individual skulls was always a matter of difficulty, as the distinctions between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon skulls are comparatively slight. As a rule, the *tapeino-cephalism* of the latter is less pronounced, and the lower jaws are smaller and lighter, while the skulls have generally wide orbits, and narrow nasal openings. The bones exhibited however had all the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon bones, and one of the skeletons belonged to a man decidedly above the ordinary stature: one of the skulls showed signs of posthumous deformation.

Professor HUMPHRY quite agreed with Professor Macalister that the race, whether Anglo-Saxon or not, to which that skull belonged must be determined rather by its surroundings than by its own special characters. Its good size and the dimensions of the other bones were an exemplification of the fact that our early progenitors had no reason to be ashamed of their physical conformation. The crania, in our own Anatomical Museum, of the earliest known inhabitants of this Island shew a cerebral capacity greater than that of the average Englishman of the present day. The same may be said of bones found in the caves of the south of France and elsewhere; and thus far no indications have been found of advance in the physical conformation of the human species from the earliest known periods to the present day.

The SECRETARY observed that the fibula closely resembled in its style several that had been found in Saxon cemeteries at Barrington and Haslingfield in this county.

Dr WALDSTEIN read "Notes on Pythagoras of Rhegion and the coins of Selinus." The publication of this paper is unavoidably deferred.

Dr WALDSTEIN read a note "On the coins of Macedonia as illustrating the gradual degeneracy in Athletic Games." The publication of this paper is unavoidably deferred.

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May 12, 1884. The Society met for the first time in the new Museum of Classical and General Archaeology, the President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, LL D., Trinity College.
Rev. R. Appleton, M.A., Trinity College.
Rev. G. W. Collins, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
Rev. M. B. Cowell, M.A., Ash Bocking Vicarage, Needham Market.
W. Robinson, Esq., Fore Hill, Ely.
Rev. C. E. Searle, M.A., Master of Pembroke College.
H. Wayman, Esq., Wallington Hall, Downham.
Professor W. Wright, LL.D., Queens' College.

The PRESIDENT gave a brief description of the loan-collection of University and College portraits exhibited in the North Gallery of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and mentioned some of which the attribution is unknown or uncertain.

Mr STEAR, of Saffron Walden, exhibited and kindly presented to the Society a flint implement and a terra-cotta one-handled jug, six inches high and bearing traces of a yellow glaze, found at Fen Ditton in this county.

Mr A. G. WRIGHT, of Newmarket, exhibited a celt, a portion of a skull, with some fragments of Roman pottery, lately found in Swaffham Fen, near Reach, and found in making the new railway (to Mildenhall) between Swaffham and the Devil's Dyke.

Mr A. H. WILLIAMS exhibited and kindly presented to the Society some glass beads, an iron blade, and two bronze fibulae, which he had found at the depth of about two feet last October, in a chalk-pit in Londesborough Park, Yorkshire.

Mr SHUCKBURGH gave a brief account of the life of Dr Laurence Chaderton (or Chatterton), first Master of Emmanuel College, who died in 1640 in his 102nd year—if not aged the full 103 years stated on his grave-stone in the College Chapel. After noting the distinctively Puritan character of the College, which caused a rapid decline in the number of students on the accession of Charles II., he connected his hero's family with Chaderton Hall near Oldham, and mentioned his schooling under Laurance Vaux, the last Warden of the Collegiate establishment of Manchester before its dissolution in 1545. Entered at Christ's College, Chaderton at first distinguished himself chiefly in the Town and Gown rows of the period, once rescuing the future Archbishop Bancroft from a furious mob; but he soon threw himself heartily into the Puritan movement, even at the cost of being disinherited by his father. In 1567 he proceeded to the degree of B.A., became soon after Fellow and

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Lecturer of his College, and was distinguished both in controversy and preaching.

Two curious instances of his success in this latter capacity are given by his biographer[1]:

Once in a church near Manchester which had been emptied by its regular minister, after a few sermons by Chaderton, it was found *that ten pints of wine were wanted for Communion instead of one.* And again on a certain occasion when he had preached for *two hours*, he said he had "tired his hearers' patience and would leave off," *upon which the whole congregation cried out*, "For God's sake, Sir, go on, we beg you, go on," and he went on for another hour, a story which shews a difference in the patience as well as the manners of congregations, almost worthy of the Antiquarian Society's investigation.

Such was the man whom Sir W. Mildmay (who had known him at Christ's) when he designed his College selected to be its first Master: and so bent upon it he is said to have been that when Chaderton hesitated (being offered better preferment) he said, "If you won't be Master, I won't be Founder."

Under Chaderton's Mastership the College sprang at once into vigorous life, and quickly outgrew the buildings adapted from the ruins of those of the Grey Friars. He himself lived at first in some rooms hastily repaired which stood apparently at the East end of the present Hall. But presently he removed to another house built on the site of the Old Hostel of S. Nicolas, which seems to have been on the site of the block of buildings on the North side of Emmanuel Street, within the walls of which, according to tradition, Greek was first taught in Cambridge.

The following is the account of the resignation of his Mastership 26 Oct. 1622, reported by one of the existing Fellows:

"We being all assembled he began thus: 'I cannot owing to my age do my duty. Some things there be that I have not attended to as they should be, for which I crave God's pardon.' [His voice at first was husky, his face red, his eyes swelling with tears.] 'What I am about to do is not the resolution of a single day or month or year. I have long deliberated upon it as for the good of the College.' He then began his formal resignation in the words 'In Dei nomine,' but here he was interrupted by the Senior Fellow beseeching him not to do it. 'Do not hinder me,' he replied, 'in doing what I am doing in the name of the Lord.' And so amidst the silent sorrow of the Fellows he completed his resignation and confirmed it *in nomine Dei et Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.* Then with tears running down his cheeks he exhorted the Fellows to remain at peace; affirming that pride was the beginning of all contention, though

[1] *Vita Laurentii Chadertoni...a Willelmo Dillingham S. T. P.* (ed. 2nda, Cantabrigiae, 1700. 8°), p. 29.

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only those could see that whose eyes God opens. 'I know,' he added, 'that some will think me a foolish doting old man for acting in this novel and unprecedented way. But I have long ago digested such remarks.' Finally he handed over the keys to the Senior Fellow, and bade them farewell with mutual tears, praying God to be with us."

Professor MACALISTER exhibited a visceral or so-called Canopic jar of soft calcareous stone, bearing the following inscription in well-executed incised hieroglyphs arranged in two vertical rows:

"Says Nephthys, I throw my arms around Hapi who is within me
The Princess Ha-Nefer, justified, devoted to Hapi."

The jar had been one for holding the small intestines, and originally had a cynocephalus-head for a stopper. The Princess Ha-Nefer appears in Lepsius's *Königsbuch* as a King's daughter of the 20th dynasty. The same name appears in the *Denkmäler* (III. 25 *bis*); it was the name of the wife of Ra-mes and mother of Semnut, chamberlain of the Palace of Queen Hatasu.

Four similar vases from the Society's collection, and one belonging to the Rev. S. S. Lewis, were exhibited and explained.

May 26, 1884. Annual General Meeting. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

J. Peile, Esq., M.A., Litt. D., Christ's College.
E. B. Rouse, Esq., M.A., Corpus Christi College.
W. Wright Smith, Esq., 13 Trinity Street.
H. Stear, Esq., Saffron Walden.
The Rev. R. W. Stoddart, B.D., Jesus College, and
J. Winbolt, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

The following honorary members were elected:

Commendatore Guiseppe Fiorelli, Roma.
Professore Luigi Pigorini, Roma.
Professor Heinrich Brunn, München.
Professor Adolf Michaelis, Strasburg.
M. Léon Heuzey, museé du Louvre, Paris.
M. Ant. Héron de Villefosse, museé du Louvre, Paris.

The following officers were elected for the next year:

President:—Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.
Vice-President:—Professor G. M. Humphry, M.D., F.R.S.
Treasurer:—Mr W. M. Fawcett, M.A.
Secretary:—Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A.
Auditors:—Mr F. C. Wace, M.A. Mr Swann Hurrell.

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New members of council:

Professor C. C. Babington, M.A., F.R.S.
Rev. Professor W. W. Skeat, M.A.
Professor Macalister, M.A., F.R.S.

The Annual Report announced that the Society's collections had received a permanent habitation in the new Museum of Archaeology, to which they had been presented by the Society; that eight meetings and two excursions had taken place during the past year, that forty-seven new members had been elected, and that the first of a series of loan-exhibitions of University and College portraits under the auspices of this Society was now on view in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Professor HUGHES, in speaking of the so-called *Via Devana* running from the end of Worts' Causeway towards Horseheath, pointed out that there was little, if any, evidence of its Roman origin; and insisted that it was rather an entrenchment, to be referred to the same later age which has given us Offa's Dyke in the west, and the Devil's Dyke and so many other notable earthworks in East Anglia also.

So too in respect of the Castle Hill, he pointed out that the certainly Roman roads in the neighbourhood seem to converge to Grantchester rather than to Cambridge, and that the Roman pottery found here indicates rubbish-heaps rather than the site of a camp or permanent fortification; and from all available evidence he drew the conclusion that (though the rural population in this neighbourhood was probably thicker in Roman times than at present) the mound and all the earthworks about it are of Norman origin.

Mr BROWNE shewed outlined rubbings of two stones recently presented to the British Museum by Mr A. W. Franks, acquired some years ago from persons who described them as coming from the City; also of the remarkable rune-bearing stone from St Paul's Church Yard in the Guildhall Library, the case of which had been removed by the kindness of the Librarian in order that the rubbing might be made. Mr Browne shewed similarities in design and execution which rendered it highly probable that the Guildhall stone and the stone of which the British Museum stones are fragments were respectively the headstone and the body-stone of a Scandinavian grave. The headstone has an animal subject, while the other stones have only patterns of symmetrical ornament; the tombstone of the heathen king Gorm the Old has the two combined, with many details in striking resemblance to the three London stones. No other such stones were known to Mr Browne in these islands. The runes on the Guildhall stone, which had certainly been an upright stone, state that 'Kona caused *lay* this stone', instead of the proper phrase for a standing stone '*raised* this stone'. T. G. Repp remarked on this phrase, when the Guildhall

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stone was found in 1854, that there must have been a large sculptured horizontal stone in front of the standing stone, "which in the course of eight centuries most likely has been broken into fragments". Mr Browne claimed to have found this body-stone. The fragments are the full breadth of the stone, and are together nearly three feet long.

The Guildhall runes add the words 'also Tuki', Toga, or Toki, or Tokig, or Thokig, was a well-known *minister* of king Canute, mentioned in various documents dating from 1019 onwards. T. G. Repp remarked that the inscription 'Kona and Tuki caused lay this stone' made it fairly certain that the body-stone bore an inscription setting forth the name and so on of the person buried. In handling the heavy stones at the British Museum a few days ago, in company with Mr Franks, Mr Browne detected on the edge of one of them the final letters of an inscription, with an incised line running centrally as on the Guildhall stone. The last letter but one is an *i*, the portion left of the letter preceding is or may be half of a *k*, and the final letter is less unlike a *g* than any thing else. Thus both inscriptions may end with Tuki or Tokig. Mr Browne believed the whole to be a pagan memorial to some English Dane of great importance.

The Yorkshire stones shewn were those at Bilton and Kirkby Wharfe. At the former place, in addition to a unique cross-head previously described to the Society, there is a stone bearing three figures much resembling the frescoes in the Catacombs of the Three Jews, but with no indication of flames. On a large stone in the church yard, evidently a portion of a shaft of considerable magnitude, figures could still be discovered which might represent Adam and Eve with an unusually large serpent between them. On another fragment, a cast of which was sent some time since to the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh because of the appearance of the "spectacle ornament" on the front of a woman, Mr Browne found on close examination that the ground on which the woman stands, with a man by her side carrying a large knifelike implement horizontally across his body, is in reality a large dragon, with a narrow head rising between them. The shaft of the cross at Kirkby Wharfe has a subject which frequently occurs on Northumbrian stones, two figures grasping an upright stem standing between them; in this case the whole is complete, and the head of the stem is found to be a large "Maltese" cross, the arms of which form canopies for the man and woman. Mr Browne shewed various examples of stones illustrated by these points.

The Deerhurst font is an unusual and very fine example of spiral ornament. Mr Browne called attention to the unusually complicated arrangement of four spirals proceeding from the centre instead of three or two, and to a peculiarity in the method of carrying it out, two of the spirals at each centre uniting and thus forming continuous bands. For a

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close examination into this detail he was indebted to Mr Henry Wilson of Malvern. He combated the argument for a comparatively late date of the font, derived from the presence of a well-designed scroll with flowers and leaves, by the presence of ornamental scrolls on stones which shewed intimate acquaintance with the Lindisfarne Gospels and other MSS. of Hibernian type, and expressed the opinion that the Deerhurst spirals were designed at an early date by some master of the art. There was a Saxon monastery at Deerhurst, and the font might possibly be a relic of its infancy. According to William of Malmesbury, Abbat Tika took to Glastonbury in the eighth century the relics of a large number of early Northumbrian Christians, Aidan, Bega, Hilda, &c., and his own tomb at Glastonbury was specially noted on account of the 'art of its sculpture'. Thus there was some evidence of a Northumbrian influence on the Christian art of the south west.

A fragment of an inscription in Roman capitals was found at Thornhill near Dewsbury several years ago. Two inscriptions in runes were found at the same place, and a third was found two or three years ago. The fragment in Roman capitals is as follows, the thick type shewing the letters which are certain, the thinner type those of which only a small portion has been preserved:

EAEFT
OSBER
TAEBEC
TBER

Mr D. H. Haigh completed this in thirteen lines, making it the memorial stone of Osberht of Northumbria, set up by his successor Ecgberht about the year 867:—

+ Ecgber|cht ðis se|ttae
aeft|aer Osber|chtae
bec|un Ecgber|chtaes
be|ornaes ae|ftaer cyn|ingae
bead|ohrorenum|.
Gibiddaþ þ|aer saulae|.

This introduces a great deal of unnecessary matter, and to call the stone the *becun* of the man who set it up is unusual, as also is the *aefter* into which the exigences of the fragment drove Mr Haigh.

Professor Stephens, in the third volume of his magnificent work, the Old Northern Runic Monuments, completes it in nine lines:—

+ Ecgbe|rcht ðis| sete
aeft|er Osber|chtae
bec|un Osber|chtaes.
Gi|biddaþ ða|er saule|.

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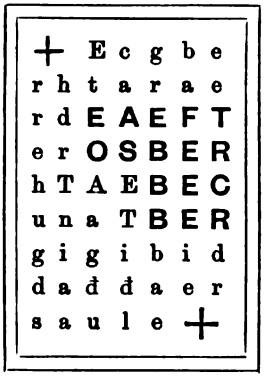
The tautology *aefter Osberchtae becun Osberchtaes* is a strong argument against this, and the *becun* seems to render *this* improbable.

Mr Browne preferred to follow the suggestion of the most recent discovery at Thornhill, + *Igilsuith araerde aefter Berchtsuithe becun at bergi gibiddaƀ ƀaer saule;* and adopting Mr Haigh's *Ecgbercht* or any name of similar length, and omitting the *c* throughout in accordance with local precedent, proposed the following alliterative couplet;—



+ *Ecgberht araerde aefter Osberhtae*
Becun at bergi gibiddaƀ ƀaer saule* +

At bergi occurs nowhere else than at Thornhill on English stones, and only three times in the 3000 Scandinavian runic inscriptions, two of the three Scandinavian cases being found together.

Mr Waldstein made the following remarks:

(1) On two stones from the Via Appia, lately given to the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Mr John Bateman, of St John's College and of Knypersley Hall in Staffordshire, was travelling in Italy in the year 1870. When in Rome he came across the workmen in the act of breaking up the stones from the ancient Appian Way for the purpose of macadamising the road. He thought that it would be a pity to destroy all traces of a road connected by such associations with the journey of St Paul. Accordingly he brought three of these ancient paving-stones to England, and kept them for some years at his residence in Staffordshire. Being driven from there by the furnaces of the coal-mines, he migrated to London and took these stones with him.

* Possibly meant for Thorn*hill*; conceivably a play upon a double meaning of *bergi*, 'hill' and 'grave-mound.'

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He recommended to his son Mr J. F. Bateman, of St John's College, that two of them should be sent to his own University, while the third is to be built into the wall of a church in Suffolk with which he was connected.

(2) On a red jasper intaglio from Smyrna in the possession of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

The red jasper intaglio in the possession of Mr Lewis has the one great advantage as far as the possibility of its identification is concerned, namely, that what is now technically called its provenance is known. It comes from Smyrna.

To an archæologist the place at once suggests the two Nemeses of Smyrna in the two female figures.

The other (male) figure of an archaic type, strangely archaic in contrast to the female figures, is evidently an Apollo with the bow in the one hand and the deer on the other, and recalls most distinctly the famous type of the Didymaean Apollo from his oracle of the Branchidae near Miletus.

It is well known that the famous sculptor, Kanachos of Sikyon, who marks the period of transition from archaic art to highest freedom, was the sculptor of the colossal bronze statue of Apollo in the temple of the Didymaean Apollo at Miletus. This statue was stolen (it is not quite certain whether by Darius in 493 B.C. or by Xerxes in 474 B.C.), and was returned to the oracle and temple by Seleukos Nikator. He held a bow and a stag, and by some ingenious mechanical contrivance the stag was moveable.

The next question is—what is the connexion between this archaic sacred image of Apollo and the figures of the Nemeses of Smyrna?

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The history of Smyrna will give us the answer.

The foundation of Smyrna goes back to the earliest times of the Ionian migration, and was according to Strabo a part of an Ephesian settlement. Herodotus considers Smyrna an Aeolian settlement. The colonists had to struggle hard to maintain their independence, especially against the Lydians.

It was after Alexander the Great that the Smyrna whose ruins are still visible on the hill was founded, the inhabitants migrating from the ancient town to this site.

The cause of the migration is to be found in the story as related by Pausanias VII. v. 1.

"The city of Smyrna, which was among the Aeolian cities, and which stood on the site which even in our days is called the old town, was taken from the Aeolians by the Ionians of Kolophon. Some time after this the Ionians took the Smyrnaeans into their league. The new city was built by Alexander the son of Philip" (it was really begun by Antigonus, and completed by Lysimachus), "urged to this step by a dream. For as he was hunting on Mount Pagus, he is reported to have come to the temple of the Nemeses, where he found a spring of water, and a plane-tree before the temple, growing by the water's side. Here he fell asleep. In his dream there appeared to him the goddesses, who ordered him to build a town on that spot and bring thither the inhabitants of Smyrna. The Smyrnæans sent ambassadors to the oracle of Klaros to get counsel concerning this charge, and received this answer. 'Thrice and four times happy will those be who shall inhabit the Pagus beyond the river Meles.' They gladly changed their dwelling and have since worshipped two Nemeses instead of one. They consider them daughters of Night; while the Athenians say that the father of the goddess of Rhamnous is Okeanos."

The part which the oracular Apollo played is evident: but this is the type of the Klarian Apollo, while the gem seems to relate to a consultation of the Didymaean Apollo.

One possibility is that a union of two cities (Miletus and Smyrna) is represented. This I believe to be less probable, though it is possible.

A bronze coin of Smyrna, illustrating Alexander's dream, was exhibited, and several coins shewing two Nemeses.

Mr Reade's account of a Roman Villa near Yatton was postponed for want of time.

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II. LIST OF COUNCIL ELECTED MAY 26, 1884.

President.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museums of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *University Registrary.*

Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College, *Trinity Praelector in Roman Literature and Archaeology.*

GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Surgery.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary and Librarian.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

THOMAS MCKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Librarian.*

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JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

ALFRED PAGET HUMPHRY, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Esquire Bedell.*

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College, *Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

ALEXANDER MACALISTER, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

Auditors.

F. C. WACE, Esq., M.A. SWANN HURRELL, Esq.

Excursion Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

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III. SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1883.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance				214	11	2
Subscriptions				250	19	0
Life Members				21	0	0
Sale of publications:						
Deighton, Bell & Co.	20	1	3			
Macmillan & Bowes	5	3	9			
				25	5	0
				£511	15	2

Payments.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Octavo Publications, No. XIX				16	16	0
„ „ No. XX (University Press)				53	5	6
„ „ „ (Illustrations)				22	0	0
Communications (No. XXIII):						
Illustrations (chromolithographs)				106	9	3
Communications (No. XXIV):						
Illustrations (photolithographs)				6	12	0
List of Members (University Press)				5	5	6
Miscellaneous Printing				5	18	6
Stationery, wages, carriage and postage				5	2	6
Repairs to locks of cases				1	5	6
Secretary for small expenses, stamps, &c.				1	7	6
				224	2	3
Balance				287	12	11
				£511	15	2

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IV. LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 26, 1884.

ANTIQUITIES, &c.

From Edwin A. Barber, Esq., Philadelphia:

Nine specimens of Pueblo pottery found among the stone ruins of southern Utah.

From Mr J. Giles, Caxton:

Two mill-stones, upper and nether; the former (10 in. diameter) found at Caldicote, the latter (9 in. diameter) at Caxton.

From Mr H. Stear, Saffron Walden:

A flint implement (probably spurious), and a one-handled earthenware jug, six inches high, and bearing traces of a yellow glaze, found at Fen Ditton in this county.

From Mr A. H. Williams (St John's):

Some glass beads, an iron blade, and two bronze fibulae, which he had found last October (1883) at a depth of about two feet in a chalk-pit in Londesborough Park, Yorkshire.

BOOKS.

A. From various donors:

From the Indian Rights Association (Philadelphia, U.S.A.):

Report of a visit to the Great Sioux Reserve, by Herbert Welsh. 4to.

From the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta:

Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum.

From H. Phillips, Esq., Ph.D., Philadelphia, Honorary Member:

A packet of American Ballads.

Brief Account of the chief Archaeological Collections in the United States. By the Donor.

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The Coinage of the United States of America. By the Donor.

Report of the Commissioner of Education, U.S.A., 1881. Washington, 1883. 8vo.

Catalogues of Coin sales (141) in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster, Pittsburgh (?).

Twenty-four miscellaneous tracts.

List of the Publications of the American Antiquarian Society, compiled by Nathaniel Paine. Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.

Reports of the Trustees of the New York State Library. 1880, 1881, 1882.

Circulars of information from the Bureau of Education, Washington, 1, 4, 5, 6.

Three Tracts from the Bureau of Education, Washington.

From Edwin A. Barber, Esq., Philadelphia:

Catlinite; its Antiquity as a material for Tobacco-pipes. By the Donor.

Catalogue of a Collection of Tobacco-pipes deposited in the Pennsylvania Museum by E. A. Barber. By the Donor.

Mound Pipes. By the Donor. (From the American Naturalist, Vol. XVI.)

On the Antiquity of the Tobacco-pipe in Europe. By the Donor.

On Pueblo pottery. By the Donor. (From the American Naturalist, June 1881.)

From John Johnson, Esq., B.A. (Johns Hopkins University):

Old Maryland Manors with the records of a Court Leet, etc.

From F. W. Putnam, Esq. (Curator of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.):

Notes on Copper Implements from Mexico. By the Donor.

Iron from the Ohio Mounds. By the Donor.

From Lucien Carr, Esq. (Assistant Curator of the Peabody Museum):

The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley. By the Donor.

From Commander E. Y. M°Auley, U.S.N.:

Dictionary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics. By the Donor. 4to.

From Professor Newton, F.R.S.:

La verité sur la date de la construction de la Basilique Saint Front de Perigueux, par M. L. C. Grellet-Balgueret. 12mo.

From John Evans, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S.:

On a Hoard of Bronze objects found near Wilburton Fen (Ely), with a page of lithographs. By the Donor. (From the Archaeologia, Vol. XLVIII.)

From H. G. Fordham, Esq., Odsey Grange, Royston:

Report of the Local Scientific Societies Committee of the British Association.

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From Isaac Smucker, Esq., Newark, Ohio, U.S.A.:
Mound-builders' Works near Newark, Ohio.

From the Rev. F. A. Walker, D.D.:
L'Orient: my Tour in the East. London, 1882. 8vo.

From E. M. Beloe, Esq., Lynn Regis:
On a Cemetery Cross of the Black Friars at Lynn (from the Proceedings of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, Vol. IX.).

B. From Societies, etc. in union for the exchange of publications:

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (C. K. WATSON, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.):
   List of the Society, June 7, 1883. 8vo.
   Proceedings, Vol. IX, Nos. 1, 2. 8vo.
2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (R. H. GOSSELIN, Esq., *Secretary*, Oxford Mansions, Oxford Street, London, W.):
   The Archaeological Journal (Vol. XXXIX.), Nos. 158, 159, 160, 161.
3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, E. J. WELLS, Esq., Mallinson House, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):
   Transactions, Vol. I, part iv.
4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Secretary*, F. S. PULLING, Esq., M.A., 69 Walton Street, Oxford):
   Nothing received this year.
5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, R. FITCH, Esq., Norwich):
   Original Papers, Vol. IX, part iv.
6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, J. MACHELL SMITH, Esq., Bury St Edmunds):
   Proceedings, Vol. VI, no. 1.
7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. KING, Esq., Leigh Hill, Essex):
   Transactions, Vol. II, parts iii and iv (New Series).
8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A., Throwley Vicarage, Faversham):
   Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. XV.
9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. CROSSKEY, Esq., Lewes):
   Sussex Archaeological Collections, Vol. XXXIII.

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10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):

    Transactions, Vol. IV, part iii. (with plates).

11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. FREER, Esq., Stonygate, Leicester):

    Nothing received this year.

12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):

    Reports and Papers for 1858, 1859, 1862–69, 1881, 1882.
    Index to first eight volumes of Reports and Papers.

13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Secretary*, C. T. GATTY, Esq., 18 Pelham Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool):

    Nothing received this year.

14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:

    Nothing received this year.

15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (THE SECRETARIES, The Old Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):

    Proceedings, Vol. I, nos. 1—19.
    Archaeologia Aeliana, Parts 26, 27. 8vo.
    Views of old Castles, Priories and Monasteries in the counties of Northumberland and Durham, by S. and N. Buck. Reprinted for the Society. Folio.
    Remnants of old Newcastle-upon-Tyne, part i.
    South-east view of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

16. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Treasurer*, Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, Melksham, Wilts.):

    Archaeologia Cambrensis (Fourth Series), nos. 53, 54, 55, 56, and Fifth Series, no. 1. London, 1883, &c. 8vo.
    The Land of Morgan, by G. T. Clark, F.S.A.

17. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):

    Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. XVI, parts ii, iii, Vol. XVII, part i.

18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon. Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):

    Journal of the Society, Vol. VI.

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19. The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. GRAVES, A.B., Inisnag, Stonyford, co. Kilkenny):

Journal of the Association (Vol. VI.), nos. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.

20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. E. NICARD, Musée de Louvre, Paris):

Mémoires, Tome XLIII.

21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania):

Foreningen til Norske Fortidmindersmerkers Bevaring: tarsberetning för 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881.

Latinske Kildescrifter til Norges Historie in Middelalderen (Monumenta Historica Norvegiae) ved D^r^ Gustav Storm, 1880.

Myntfundet fra Graeslia i Thydalen, beskrevet af D^r^ L. B. Steversen, 1881.

Norske Bygninger fra Fortiden; med Text af N. Nicolaysen. Heft. 10, 11. 1879, 1880.

Kunst og Handwerk fra Norges Fortid ved N. Nicolaysen. Heft. 1, 2. 1880, 1882.

Hovestuen Faa Bygd af D^r^ Yngvar Nielsen. F°.

22. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. DROLSUM):

Nothing received this year.

23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Secrétaire*, M. TIESCHHAUSEN, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):

Nothing received this year.

24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, *γραμματεύς*, Athens):

Πρακτικά for the year 1882.

Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, Vols. I, II, III. 1862—85. 4to.

25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator*):

Nothing received this year.

26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (Spencer F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary*):

Annual Reports for 1863, 1866, 1881.

27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. PHILLIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 304 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):

Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, 1883.

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28. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. GREENLEAF, Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):

Second and Fourth Annual Reports, 1880–81 and 1882–83.
Bulletins of the School of Classical Studies at Athens, no. 1. Report of Professor W. W. Goodwin.

29. The Bureau of Ethnology, Washington (W. J. HOFFMANN, Esq., M.D., *Secretary*):

Nothing received this year.

30. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary and Curator*):

Nothing received this year.

31. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGÈNE DUPREY, Queen Street, St Helier, Jersey).

Huitième Bulletin Annuel 1883.
Bulletin, nos. 1—6.
Publications 1—7.
Extente de l'Isle de Jersey, 1868.

32. The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (John E. PRICE, Esq., *Secretary*, Albion Road, Stoke Newington). [28 Jan. 1884.]

Transactions of the Society (from 1855). Vols. I—VI, part i. 1860–1883.
Proceedings at the Evening Meetings, 1871–74 (4 parts).
Temple-Bar, or some account of the Marigold, by F. G. Hilton-Price, F.G.S.
Roman Antiquities found at Walbrook, 1873, by J. E. Price, F.S.A.
Description of a Roman Tessellated Pavement in Bucklersbury, by J. E. Price. 4to.
Description of Roman Antiquities found near the Mansion House, by J. E. Price. 4to.
On a Bastion of London Wall, by J. E. Price. 4to.
History of Monken Hadley, and of South Mimms, by the Rev. C. Cass, M.A., 2 vols. 4to.

33. The Surrey Archaeological Society (Thomas MILBOURN, Esq., *Hon. Sec.*, 8 Dane's Inn, London, W.C.). [18 Feb. 1884.]

34. The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (Wm. BIDGOOD, Esq., *Curator*, Taunton Castle). [12 May 1884.]

Proceedings (during the year 1882), New Series, Vol. VIII.

35. Die Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (*President*, Dr Dietrich Schäfer, Jena). [12 May 1884.]

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V. LAWS.

(*Revised Feb.* 28, 1881.)

I. This Society shall be called The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture and Antiquities, to meet for the discussion of these subjects, and to collect and print information relative thereto.

III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be *One Guinea* annually, such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year; on the payment of which sum he shall become entitled to all the publications of the Society during the current year.

IV. A member shall be allowed to compound for his future annual subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas;* or, after the payment of fifteen annual subscriptions, by the payment of five guineas.

V. If the annual subscription of any member be twelve months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it, and if it be not paid within one month, a second application shall be made for it, and if that is not attended to within one month, a notice of the same shall be suspended in the Society's usual place of meeting, and the Secretary shall inform the member thereof: if the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of two years from the time when it became due, the name of such person shall be announced at the next Annual General Meeting as having been struck off the list of the Society.

VI. No Member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for (according to Law V), shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.

VII. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the Society shall be proposed by two members at any of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of this University shall be balloted for at the meeting at which they are proposed.

VIII. Honorary Members may be proposed with the sanction of the Council by at least two members of the Society at any of the usual meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting. No person shall be so proposed who is either resident within the county of Cambridge or a member of the University. Honorary Members shall receive all the current publications of the Society.

IX. In the voting by ballot for the election of members and honorary members one black ball in four shall exclude.

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X. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

XI. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary members of the Council to retire annually.

XII. At the Meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary member of the Council then present. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of numbers, retaining also his own right to vote upon all questions submitted to the meeting.

XIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIV. The Meetings of the Society shall take place once at least during each term: the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

XV. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode: and one month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

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VI. LIST OF COMMUNICATIONS (No. XXVI) ISSUED WITH THE PRESENT REPORT, BEING PART IV OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

PAGE

XIX. On a Silver Statuette of Fortuna Nemesis. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 273

XX. Biographical Notes on the University Printers from the Commencement of Printing in Cambridge to the Present Time. Communicated by Robert Bowes, Esq. 283

XXI. On the Signet of Eros. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College. 369

Title, Contents, and Index to the Fifth Volume of *Communications*.

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CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN COMMUNICATIONS:

BEING

PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE MEETINGS

OF THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

VOL. V.

1880—1884.

(WITH SUPPLEMENT IN FOLIO.)

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED FOR THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

SOLD BY DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; AND MACMILLAN & CO.

LONDON, GEORGE BELL AND SONS.

1886.

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Gift of the Society
Rec. 1883-86

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CONTENTS.

1880—1881.

		PAGE
I.	On two remarkable engraved Gems of early Christian work. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College .	1
II.	Account of the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by Walter K. Foster, Esq., F.S.A. (With 12 plates.)	5
III.	"Stampare a conio." How did the Romans strike their medallions? Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College	33
IV.	On the portrait of Homer upon an unpublished coin of Nicaea in Bithynia. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College	41
V.	On the earthern rampart at Perekop, at the entrance to the Crimea. Communicated by the Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D., Emmanuel College	47

1881—1882.

VI.	Notes on four series of Palaeolithic Implements from South Africa. By Mr John C. Rickard, Cambridge. Communicated, with remarks, by A. F. Griffith, B.A., Christ's College (With 6 plates.)	57
VII.	Notes on some Neolithic Implements from South Africa. By Mr John C. Rickard, Cambridge. Communicated by A. F. Griffith, B.A., Christ's College	67
VIII.	On two unpublished Christian gem-types. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College	75
IX.	On the Measurements and Valuations of the Domesday of Cambridgeshire. Communicated by the Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., Corpus Christi College. (With an atlas of tables in folio.)	93

Digitized by Google

PAGE

X. On the Minster-Church at Aachen. Communicated by R. C. Reade, M.A., King's College (With 4 plates.) 131
XI. Note on Moïse du Soul (Moses Solanus), M.A. by Royal Mandate, 1701. Communicated by the Rev. John E. B. Mayor, M.A., St John's College, Professor of Latin 167
XII. On a Cameo representing Jupiter Dodonaeus. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 183

1882—1883.

XIII. On some bronze Etruscan mirrors with engraved reverses. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College . . . 185
XIV. Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-book, with some particulars of school and college expences in the 16th and 17th centuries. Communicated by the Rev. E. K. Bennet, D.C.L. . . . 201
XV. On Roman coins found at Willingham. Communicated by F. J. H. Jenkinson, M.A., Trinity College 225
XVI. On an onyx cameo of Marcia in the character of Omphale. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College . . . 233
XVII. On the Tabula Peutingeriana. Communicated by the Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., Corpus Christi College . . . 237
XVIII. On the Tomb of the Lady Margaret. Communicated by J. W. Clark, M.A., Trinity College 265

1883—1884.

XIX. On a silver Statuette of Fortuna Nemesis. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 273
XX. Biographical Notes on the University Printers from the commencement of printing in Cambridge to the present time. Communicated by Robert Bowes, Esq. 283
XXI. On the Signet of Eros. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 363
Index 369

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LIST OF PLATES.

To No. II.	Twelve Plates	To follow page 32.
To No. VI.	Six Plates	To precede page 57.
To No. IX.	A supplement of tables in folio.	
To No. X.	Two Plates	To follow page 136.
,,	Two Plates	To follow page 152.
To No. XIII.	One Plate	To precede page 187.
,,	Two Plates	To follow page 188.
,,	One Plate	To follow page 190.
,,	Two Plates	To follow page 192.
,,	One Plate	To follow page 198.

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ERRATA.

P. 193, line 23, *for* MEURFA *read* MENRFA.

„ 286, line 16, *omit* John Owen. The Cellarius is printed "impensis J. Owen *typographi*," but his part in the undertaking was purely that of a publisher, for whom the University printed the book. In 1706 Simon Ockley's *Introductio ad Linguas Orientales*, 8°, was printed for him at the University Press.

„ „ line 30, *for* 1853 *read* 1854.

„ 311, line 19, *for* 1741 *read* 1749.

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CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN COMMUNICATIONS.

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Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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I. On two remarkable engraved Gems of early Christian work. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[November 15, 1880.]

Early Christian art has only of late years obtained the attention that on so many accounts its remaining monuments deserve. The elaborate publications of Didron, De Rossi, and Garucci have made the world acquainted with those of Sculpture and Painting which carried over the tradition of the expiring schools, across the chaos of barbarism into the congenial region of the new era: and all archaeologists are suddenly wakened up to the importance of memorials so long neglected or despised. A similar fortune has befallen the minor relics of the primitive Church, its terra-cottas, seals and engraved gems: these, even forty years ago, were thrown by the Italian *antiquario* into the same case with the Gnostic talismans, stigmatised as *roba di bassi tempi*, and sold at the lowest possible price to the few who then had sufficient courage to purchase things not in themselves "objects of High Art." A change is come over the spirit of the dream, and collectors have learnt to prize the glyptic works of the Lower and Byzantine Empires as objects valuable not for their intrinsic beauty, but for the associations with which they are connected. The poverty of their style is not the fault of their *nature*, but of their *date*, yet their designs frequently retain the antique elegance in their compo-

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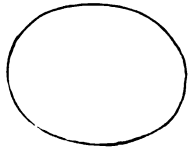
sition, and always, however rude in execution, delight the intelligent or devotional mind by the touching ingenuity of their symbolism.

The simple devices to which Clemens Alexandrinus restricts the choice of the Christians of the second century for employment in their signets are the Dove, the Fish, the Ship, the Lyre of Polycrates, the Anchor of Seleucus, and the Fisherman (*Paedagogus*, III. 11). Of two of these types an unusually elaborate and equally elegant combination is presented upon a large agate ring-stone, lately brought to London from Alexandria.

In this composition, we have the *ship* manned by four persons: one of whom, figured on a much larger scale than the others (according to the artless rule of antiquity for expressing superior dignity), with right hand upraised in the gesture of command or oratory, must be the Saviour himself; a second figure angling from the prow with rod and line has just hooked the mystic Fish; of the two figures amidships, one has caught a fish, the other is handling a net.



In the exergue the letters I H X joined with the figure of a large fish swimming, probably express the Saviour's name and his regular title I. X. Θ. Υ. Σ. (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ). A flake from the surface has impaired the outline of

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the sail, which, when combined with the mast, would have presented an image of the cross. The design of this picture is good, and doubtless taken from one belonging to a more flourishing state of the arts; but the execution is unskilful and the cutting of the intaglio coarse in the extreme, strongly reminding the numismatist of the style of the reverses on the copper coins (of Honorius) struck at Alexandria; to whose times this interesting gem may with much probability be referred.

The second gem to be noticed emanates from a yet lower period of the glyptic art; but acquires much greater importance from the unique character of the subject. The *Crucifixion*, all writers upon Christian iconography are agreed, does not appear upon any monuments anterior to the tenth century; nevertheless an engraved gem has lately come to light from the same region as the one above described, which from style and certain *indicia* of its own, may perhaps claim its origin from the period of Justinian, and the foundation of Santa Sophia.

It is a black haematite, in form a rounded oval, bearing the Saviour, clothed in a long dalmatic, extended upon the cross, with the hands *tied*[1] as well as nailed, and the feet almost touch-

[1] It is stated (but on what authority I know not) that in some cases the criminal was *bound*, not *nailed*, to the cross, and left to perish by starvation. The most ancient form of *ἀνασκολοπισμὸς*, as represented in Assyrian sculptures, was the driving a sharp stake under the breast-bone, and planting it in the ground with the victim hanging over the point.

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ing the ground: at each side stands the usual attendant, one bearing a spear—the Longinus of the story: in the field above are two monograms, apparently made up of the letters IC, XC. The technical execution of the engraving is totally dissimilar to the mediaeval attempts in the art, but on the other hand resembles in all points that of the later Gnostic talismans. Scriptural scenes are found on gems known to belong to the Carlovingian school, but their taste and execution have nothing in common with the one we are considering, which is the sole example of its kind that has ever come under my notice.

Some slight clue, however, towards fixing the date of the work is supplied by the fact that the face of Christ is *beardless*, as it is invariably represented in the earliest Christian sculptures. Now Mauricius (582—602 A.D.) is the last of the emperors who appears close-shaven in his portraits; after his reign all dignitaries began "sapientem pascere barbam"—the badge of a philosopher by profession—and wore that appendage at fullest length.

As a necessary consequence, when Justinian II. (685—711 A.D.) puts the bust of Christ, for the first time, upon his coinage, the face is invested with that same mark of dignity, and so continues in the stereotyped practice of succeeding Byzantine art. If there be, therefore, any weight in this one consideration, the close of the sixth century may be taken for the inferior limit of the date of this very curious and interesting work, but how much higher it may remount, cannot be ascertained from the total absence of analogous productions.

NOTE. Both the gems described in this paper are now in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

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II. Account of the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by Walter K. Foster, Esq., F.S.A. (With 12 Plates.)

[November 15, 1880.]

The neighbourhood of Barrington has for some time been the scene of those coprolite diggings to which we owe the discovery and the destruction of so many objects of antiquarian interest. Last spring the workmen began finding Saxon graves; and, according to their usual custom, over each grave there was a scramble for the contents: so that, although many of the robuster objects found their way singly into various collections, no evidence was preserved of their position and association; while delicate things were almost invariably destroyed.

A more careful and systematic excavation appeared desirable; and at the suggestion of my cousin, Mr Arthur Griffith, who had already secured some *fibulae* and other relics from the graves, I obtained the necessary permission from the landlords (the Master and Fellows of Trinity College) and the tenant, Mrs Wallis, all of whom I must take this opportunity of thanking for their kindness, and proceeded at once to trench the undisturbed part of the ground, with what success the objects laid before the Society this evening will show.

Unfortunately, the larger part of the cemetery had been opened by the workmen before my arrival; and owing to the haste with which I was obliged to work to keep in front of their line of operations, it was impossible to conduct the exca-

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vations as systematically as could be wished, or even to make a general plan of the cemetery.

My work extended from April 20 to June 26, during which time I opened 114 graves. These graves were situated on the south slope of some rising ground in a field which goes by the name of Hooper's Field, at the west end of the village of Barrington in this county. There were no signs of tumuli or anything to denote the presence of the graves. The interments lay chiefly E. and W. with the feet towards the E., seventy-two being thus placed. Of the remainder, thirteen lay N.E. to S.W. and the same number N. to S. The bones of the other interments were so much disturbed that it was impossible to ascertain their position.

The graves were placed irregularly, and there seems to have been no feeling about disturbing previous interments. Their depth varied from 6 in. to 4 ft. 6 in. The results of a comparison between the depths of interments lying N. and S. with those lying E. and W. do not seem to bear out in this instance the theory Professor Rolleston has advanced[1], that the former are shallower than the others, and therefore possibly of an earlier Pagan age.

With one exception I could detect no signs of a coffin, but in that one case the decayed remains of the wood of which it had been composed were plainly visible, but fell to dust at the touch, and I was unable to preserve any.

As is usually the case in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries there were numerous shards of pottery in most of the graves which had been evidently broken at or before the time of the interment. Carbonaceous matter and bones of animals were also plentiful.

The skeletons were, considering the time that had elapsed since their interment, in good condition, except indeed that the skulls were often crushed by the weight of earth above. The

[1] *Archaeologia*, Vol. XLII. p. 442.

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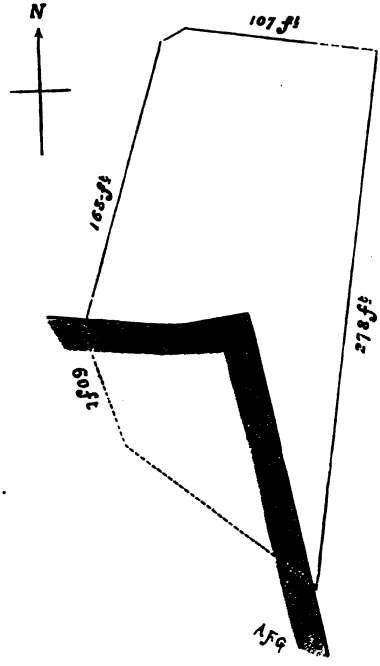
teeth were in a wonderful state of preservation, very few missing and no signs of decay apparent. The grinding surface of those of the adults was generally worn perfectly level, as is usual amongst Anglo-Saxons[1].

On the same site as the cemetery are the remains of a rectilinear fosse of irregular shape, a rough plan of which, kindly made for me by Mr Griffith, is annexed. It was filled up to the level of the field and so undistinguishable on the surface.



Plan of Fosse on site of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambs. Scale 100 ft. to the inch.

The dotted lines indicate the part of the fosse already obliterated by the coprolite diggers; the shaded portion represents the position of the pit at the time of my arrival.

[1] This fact has been commented upon by Messrs Thurnam and Davis. See *Crania Britannica*, Decade II. 20. 7.

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At least one side had already been destroyed by the coprolite diggings, but the dotted line gives the direction which the workmen assured me it took. They also stated that no break occurred which could have served for an entrance, nor was I able to discover any in the remaining portion. At one point where I took the dimensions it was 14 ft. wide and 8 ft. 4 in. deep, but the coprolite men told me that in many parts over which they had previously worked it had been much wider and deeper.

I at first thought this had surrounded the cemetery and served as its boundary, but this idea was dispelled by finding graves outside the enclosure, and in one part in the fosse itself, thus shewing it must have been filled up at the date of those interments. A friend visiting the spot suggested that this may have been caused by the cemetery becoming crowded and overflowing its boundaries; but this was certainly not the case, as a large portion of the ground surrounded by the fosse held no graves.

Within the area enclosed by this fosse I also found numerous pits of various dimensions, whose positions appeared to bear no relation to those of the graves, which often indeed lay across them. I opened several of these pits, some of which were as much as 13 ft. in diameter and 8 ft. deep, but in general they were smaller and shallower.

They were filled with a black greasy earth interspersed with occasional shards of pottery, bones, and teeth of animals. Many of the bones had been split for the sake of extracting the marrow. In one case I found the skeleton of the Celtic Shorthorn (*bos longifrons*). Among the other bones and teeth were those of the same animal, horse, sheep and pig. Some of the pottery is certainly Romano-British. The rest I believe to be of the same period, but it is of so rude a character that I am unable to speak with certainty.

Running from several of the pits were drains neatly cut out

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of the solid clunch to a depth often of 3 ft. 5 in. from the surface; they were about 2 ft. in width at the top, diminishing to 3 in. at the bottom. Their general direction lay down the slope of the hill, where, after a few yards, the coprolite works destroyed them and thus prevented my tracing them to a termination, but one which started from one of the largest of the pits ran diagonally along the slope of the hill for some yards and terminated abruptly.

The question again arises as to whether these pits have any connection with the graves, or, like the fosse, are relics of a former age; and I can have but little doubt that their position among the graves is merely accidental, and that they have been used as rubbish pits by a Romano-British population; but whether they were originally dug for this purpose, and the fosse which was filled in a similar manner served as a boundary to the settlement, or whether they are both to be referred to an earlier date, I am quite unable to decide. That they are not of Saxon origin is clear, although it is not uncommon to find Roman pottery among the shards in Anglo-Saxon graves.

My reasons for coming to this conclusion are that, supposing them to have been dwellings, no race possessing such culture as, to judge from their relics, the Anglo-Saxons must have had, would have lived in so barbarous a manner, and it is against all precedent for a people to live among their dead; while their size and depth preclude their having served for purposes of cremation or as cooking places for the burial feast. Indeed in this cemetery cremation seems to have been quite the exception, very few cinerary urns having been found.

Again, if they had served for any such purposes, similar pits would be likely to have been noticed elsewhere, but in none of the best and most trustworthy accounts, such as Faussett's and Neville's, lo we find any mention of them. The only similar case that I can find recorded was observed by Mr Stephen

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Stone at Standlake, in Oxfordshire[1]. On the same site as the cemetery in Mr Gibson's grounds at Saffron Walden, similar pits occur, but I have not been able to discover any account of these last excavations.

The objects found are for the most part similar to those from other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries which have been excavated in this neighbourhood, as described and figured in Neville's *Saxon Obsequies*, and the 6th volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*. Judging from the number and richness of the specimens from the same spot which Mr Conybeare and Mr Griffith have laid before the Society this evening, I should consider that by far the larger part of the cemetery must have been opened before my arrival. The comparative poverty of the whole collection suggests that the cemetery must have belonged to a poorer tribe than that at Little Wilbraham.

Of the total number of one hundred and fourteen graves opened no less than thirty-one contained no deposit. The others yielded fifty-five fibulae from twenty-nine graves. In only one instance (grave No. 82) were three found, four graves contained one each, and the remaining twenty-four two each. Of these fifty-five fibulae fourteen were of the cruciform type, eighteen square headed, fourteen flat circular, four pair saucer-shaped, and one pair annular.

The saucer-shaped fibulae present a peculiarity of structure which may be mentioned here; unlike the ordinary type, which are solid, they are formed of three pieces: a thin bronze plate thickly gilt resting on a bronze back and surrounded by a neatly ornamented gilt rim. On one pair of these (grave No. 61, see Pl. III, Fig. 1) may be seen the profile view of the human face instead of the full face which usually occurs.

One pair (No. 83, see Pl. IV, Fig. 1) have blue glass centres,

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Series 1, pp. 92 and 113.

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which are replaced in two others (Nos. 61 and 108, see Pl. III) by raised bronze studs.

The thin bronze plates mentioned above have probably not been stamped but hammered out by hand, since, closely as they resemble one another, each specimen shews some slight difference.

Another rare specimen is the Bird Fibula (No. 13, see Pl. IV, Fig. 3). One somewhat similar has been figured in *Fairford Graves*, Pl. 3.

Of the large cruciform type there was only one specimen (No. 82, see Pl. I, Fig. 1). Length 5¼ inches. This was not found, as I believe is usually the case, on the hip, but across the small fibula on the right shoulder. Another form (No. 47, see Pl. V, Fig. 3) is peculiar as being of a distinctly Roman type: the pin alone is bronze and the body iron, a feature which is very uncommon. The shape of another (No. 9, see Pl. II, Fig. 1) is also noticeable.

Of the clasps may be noticed a bronze gilt pair (see Pl. IV, Fig. 4) from grave No. 75, which in form are believed to be quite unique, combining as they do the oblong shape of the ordinary clasp with the ornamental triangular end of a very usual type of Anglo-Saxon buckle. The style of ornamentation is also noteworthy, consisting of the figure of the conventional elongated bird terminating in interlaced curves[1].

Two pairs (No. 61) are exactly similar to those found by Neville at Little Wilbraham, and figured in his *Saxon Obsequies* Pl. 12, Fig. 4.

The beads number 895 from 36 graves. They present but little variation from the ordinary well-known types, those from No. 82 being chiefly remarkable for their minute size, which hardly exceeds that of a pin's head. The two pairs of cylindrical bronze tubes from graves 28 and 55 formed part of the actual necklaces.

[1] See Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament*, ch. XV.

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Only four coins were found. These are all pierced for suspension, and from their position had evidently been strung with the beads.

Three are the common Roman third brass: the fourth, from grave No. 7, is of more interest as being a Burgundian imitation of a coin of Valentinian struck at Treves about the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century.

Of the two pails, one, from grave No. 13, is of the ordinary form, composed of bronze hoops with wooden staves and a bronze handle, and is only noticeable from its perfect condition. The other (see Pl. VII, Fig. 1), from grave No. 60, although not so ornamental and in a very imperfect state, is perhaps rarer, iron hoops being substituted for bronze: unfortunately nothing remained of the wooden staves.

Amongst other tokens of Roman civilization is the bronze handle of a key (grave No. 82) which is undoubtedly of their manufacture. This, when discovered, lay on a large and massive bronze ring, possibly of the same period. The two were placed on the left hip of the skeleton, and surrounded by decayed fragments of cloth, the ordinary iron knife and other fragments of iron. I am unable to assign any use to the ring, neither can I give any clue to the use of the bronze object from No. 7. It was discovered lying with beads at the neck. A similar one in the Gibbs bequest at the South Kensington Museum is described as a sword chape. This I think must be an error.

The weapons present nothing worthy of remark. There are fifteen spears and javelins from the same number of graves, two swords and eight umbos, all of which are of the ordinary Anglo-Saxon type.

The urns, of which there were 13, were always found, like the two pails, close to the head. They are all with one exception (No. 45) small, holding from about a pint to a pint and a half apiece. Two of them (Nos. 81 and 84) are remarkable from the extreme rudeness of their manufacture. One of these is figured in Pl. VII, Fig. 3.

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Four human skulls, which I succeeded in getting out unbroken, have been placed, with the kind permission of Prof. Humphry, in the collection at the Anatomical Museum, and are numbered 283, A, B, C, and D, respectively. They were all obtained from undoubted Saxon graves.

The examples figured in the Plates numbered VIII to XII, which were found in the previous excavations for coprolites in this cemetery by the workmen, were kindly lent by their owners, the Rev. J. W. E. Conybeare and Mr A. F. Griffith, for illustration in this paper.

Since the above account was written, Mr Ready, who kindly undertook the somewhat disagreeable task of cleaning and preparing the iron objects found in the excavations, has made an interesting discovery connected with one of the umbos—that from grave No. 103.

As is well known, these umbos usually have a stud in the centre raised on a short stem, and are made throughout of iron, though the flat button-like top is sometimes covered with a thin plate of either bronze or tin.

In this specimen, however, the top of which was covered with a mass of rust, the process of cleaning disclosed that the whole stud and stem were made of bronze-gilt fastened on to the body of the umbo by three claw-feet, and having the button deeply embossed in the same manner as the solid saucer-shaped fibulae.

The rim, which is rounded off and somewhat irregular in thickness, encloses a space about the size of a shilling, a part of which, on the left side, rather more than a third of the whole, is divided off from the rest by a double line, and contains what appears to be the conventional representation of a mythical creature having the head and neck of a swan or some similar bird. Above and rather to the right of the head is a short piece of a chain-like pattern, and to the extreme right may be noticed a couple of the well-known S-shaped characters, the

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rest of the space being filled up with crescents, chevrons, and straight lines.

Umbo described above, to one-half of the actual size. The boss above it is of the true size.

The annexed woodcut will however convey a far clearer notion of this curious, and I believe I may say, unique object than any verbal description.

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Detailed Account of Graves.

April 20th, 1880.

Head to west. Length of skeleton 3 ft. Child. Legs crossed. No deposit. Skeleton No. 1.

Head to west. Left hand crossed on to hip. Right hand straight. Legs crossed left over right. Twenty-nine beads left side of neck. With them a thin bronze plate, length $1\frac{11}{16}$ in., lozenge-shaped and perforated with eight holes in the form of a cross. One somewhat similar figured in *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 116. Bronze pendant composed of quiver-shaped bronze tube $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, on small bronze ring with sliding knot. Bronze pin with spiral head. No. 2.

In same grave as No. 2. Bones much disturbed. Square-headed fibula on left shoulder. Cruciform one on right. Amber bead on left ribs. No. 3.

Bones much disturbed. No deposit. No. 4.

April 21st.

Depth 18 in. Child. Body much contorted. No deposit. No. 5.

Head to west. Length 5 ft. 1 in. Spear left of head. Knife on left hip. No. 6.

Head to west. Lying at foot of No. 6. Bones much disturbed and many missing. Fifty-two beads and perforated silver coin on neck, and with these a tinned bronze fibula. A flat bronze tube (see Pl. v, Fig. 2) at neck with beads. Circlet of ivory broken and fragments scattered about. Iron buckle. No. 7.

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Skeleton No. 8. Head to south. Bones much disturbed. Leg bones at right angles to body. No deposit.

No. 9. Head to west. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 5 in. Body lying on left side with both hands clasped level with head. Legs slightly bent. Fibula on each shoulder; one square-headed, for the other see Pl. II, Fig. 1. A pair of bronze-gilt clasps on each wrist. Iron buckle on hip. Knife to left of thigh. Thirteen beads at neck, one being composed of chalk.

April 22nd.

No. 10. Head to south-west. Lying under No. 9. Depth 3 ft. 3½ in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 9 in. Arms straight. Legs uncrossed. Fragments of urn right of head, urn left of head. A hundred and twenty beads at neck, including one of blue glass, faceted, see Pl. VI, Fig. 3. Circular bronze fibula with rim on each shoulder. Iron shroud-pin on chest. Iron knife. Large glass bead, see Pl. VI, Fig. 1, on spine just below ribs. Iron buckle at right hip. On left hip fragments of the bronze binding of a purse; a similar one figured and described in Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. VI, p. 123. Some decomposed substance, which doubtless formed the pouch itself, was also visible.

No. 11. Head to west. Depth 4 ft. 2 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 2½ in. Left hand crossed on breast. Legs uncrossed. Two round stones close to head. No other deposit.

No. 12. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Length 5 ft. 9 in. Arms straight. Legs uncrossed. No deposit.

No. 13. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 1 in. Hands crossed over one another on breast. Legs uncrossed. Situla at right of head, 4 in. diameter, 3¾ in. high, bronze hoops and handle and wooden staves; a similar one is figured by Neville in *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 17. Twelve beads on right collar-bone. Two amber beads, which had been strung

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on iron wire, on right breast. Small bronze gilt bird fibula, see Pl. IV, Fig. 3. Knife between hips with other fragments of iron. SKELETON

April 23rd.

Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Skull detached from body, which lay quite doubled up, arm and leg bones together. Small fragment of iron on left hip. No. 14.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 7 in. Left hand crossed on breast. Right hand straight. Legs uncrossed. Bodkin on right breast with its point resting on small bronze ring, see Pl. I, Fig. 2. Seventy-six beads between elbow of right arm and spine. No. 15.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. Legs uncrossed. Fragment of iron on left shoulder, which crumbled away at a touch. No. 16.

Depth 2 ft. 4 in. Right arm crossed on breast, left straight. Legs bent to left at an angle of 45°. No deposit. No. 17.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 4 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 3 in. Both arms crossed on breast. Legs uncrossed. No deposit. No. 18.

Head to west. Child. No deposit. No. 19.

April 24th.

Head to south. Depth 1 ft. 7 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 6 in. Left hand crossed under hip, right straight. Small knife with left hand. Fragments of iron buckle on right hip. No. 20.

Head to west. Lying under No. 20. Depth 2 ft. 2 in. Length of skeleton doubtful, part of skull missing. Left hand crossed on breast, right hand straight. Square-headed bronze gilt fibula on each shoulder, see Pl. IV, Fig. 2. No. 21.

Head to south. Depth 2 ft. 1 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 4 in. Left hand crossed over and right hand under hip. Infant's skeleton lying at the head of this. Between the two, small bronze pin, its head flattened on two opposite sides, No. 22.

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Skeleton rather to the right of principal interment; a similar one figured *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 43.

April 26th.

No. 23. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 2 in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 10 in. Head on left side. Left hand crossed on breast, right hand straight. Twenty-eight amber and three crystal beads at neck, one of the latter being faceted. Square-headed fibula on each shoulder, tinned bronze, see Pl. II, Fig. 3.

No. 24. Head to south. Depth 2 ft. 1 in. Head on left side. Arms straight. Legs uncrossed. No deposit. A second skull lay at the head of, but a little nearer the surface than, this interment.

No. 25. Head to west. Depth 1 ft. 9½ in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 10 in. Right arm crossed over breast, left arm straight. Legs uncrossed. Six beads at neck. Square-headed fibula with them. Knife under right arm at hip. Iron pin.

No. 26. Head to west. Body on left side, with legs drawn up. No deposit.

April 27th.

No. 27. Head to south. Under No. 26. Bones much disturbed. Fragment of iron and small knife.

No. 28. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 2 in. Under No. 27. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 5½ in. Body lying on left side, with right arm crossed over on to neck, the fingers being on left shoulder. Left arm crossed under hip. Seventy beads and two bronze cylindrical tubes, 1¼ in. long, ¼ in. diameter, on breast. Bronze tweezers with fingers of right hand. Small disk-shaped fibula with fragment of cloth attached to its upper surface with beads. A larger one on right hip, see Pl. v, Fig. 1.

No. 29. Skull missing. Bones much disturbed. No deposit.

No. 30. Head to west. Depth 1 ft. 7 in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 5 in. Head, arms, and legs straight. No deposit.

No. 31. Head to west. Child. No deposit.

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Head to west. Depth 2 ft. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 4 in. Head straight. Right arm bent outwards. Left arm straight. No deposit. Skeleton No. 32.

Bones much disturbed. Two pairs of bronze clasps and head of a broken bronze fibula of fine cruciform type. No. 33.

April 28th.

Head to west. Depth 1 ft. 2 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 1 in. Head and arms straight. Legs uncrossed. No deposit. No. 34.

Bones much disturbed. Six beads. Cruciform fibula on each shoulder. No. 35.

Head to south. Depth 1 ft. 4 in. Body on left side. Arms straight. Leg bones missing. One bead under skull. Iron girdle-hanger at hip; a similar one figured, *Saxon Obsequies*, top of Pl. 39. No. 36.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 9 in. Right hand crossed at hip. Legs uncrossed. Ivory bead, see Pl. VI, Fig. 6, at right hip, together with small knife. No. 37.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 1 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 8 in. Head on right side. Arms straight. Legs uncrossed. Urn at right of head. No. 38.

April 29th.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 3 in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 11¾ in. Head and arms straight. No deposit. No. 39.

Head to south. Depth 2 ft. 2 in. Head and arms straight. Leg bones missing. Two bronze rings with sliding knot similar to that figured in *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Pl. 11, Fig. 21, on first and second ribs on right side: three stone beads with them, see Pl. VI, Fig. 5. Small knife at right hip. No. 40.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 3 in. Length of skeleton No. 41.

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Skeleton 5 ft. 1 in. Head on left side. Both arms crossed. Fragment of iron on breast.

No. 42. Head to west. Depth 1 ft. 10 in. Body on left side. Hands raised and joined on left side level with head. Legs drawn up. Tinned bronze disc-shaped fibula on each shoulder. One with fragment of cloth on upper surface.

No. 43. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 10 in. Head on left side. Arms and legs straight. No deposit.

April 30th.

No. 44. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 5 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 9 in. Skull much crushed. Arms and legs straight. Two fragments of bronze binding at left of head. Knife, bronze tweezers and iron buckle at hip.

No. 45. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 11 in. Skull much crushed. Body contorted. Legs drawn up. Rough, unornamented urn of black earth at back of head. Square-headed bronze fibula on each shoulder. Iron shroud-pin lying across fibula on right shoulder.

No. 46. Head at north. Depth 1 ft. 5½ in. Body on left side. Right arm crossed, and the forearm raised level with head. Body bent and legs crossed. Knife and small bronze buckle and shank on right hip. A similar one figured *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 12, Fig. 28. Underneath this skeleton lay that of a child. Head to north. A bead and two small bronze pins, one with round flattened head, at head. For a similar one see Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 43.

No. 47. Opened by a friend in my enforced absence. No particulars of position. Fibulæ on shoulders, one bronze, cruciform, the other iron with bronze pin, Roman type, see Pl. v, Fig. 3. Stone bead (spindle whorl?) surrounded by two iron rings much broken, with other fragments of iron. Two bronze rings on left breast, with minute fragments of glass (probably a bead).

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May 3rd.

SKELETON

Head to south-west. Depth 2 ft. 10 in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 6 in. Right hand crossed on hip. Left straight. Legs uncrossed. Spear at left of head. Knife on left hip. Iron buckle on right hip. No. 48.

Head to west. Depth 3 ft. Head on left side. Cruciform fibula on each shoulder. Knife on hip. No. 49.

Head to west. In same grave as No. 49; the head lying on the hip of No. 49, and the bones being much mixed. Square-headed fibula on each shoulder with fragment of cloth attached to one of them. No. 50.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 3 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. Skull much crushed. Arms and legs straight. No deposit. No. 51.

Head to west. Depth 3 ft. Skull much crushed. Left hand crossed under hip. Right arm straight. No deposit. No. 52.

Head to west. Depth 3 ft. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 7 in. Head straight. Urn and spear at right side of head. For similar urn see *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 32, centre fig. Iron buckle on right hip. Umbo on pelvis. No. 53.

May 4th.

This and the next skeleton were found by the coprolite diggers and their position somewhat disturbed before they called me. Depth of both graves about 2 ft. 6 in. Spear at right of head. No. 54.

Square-headed bronze fibula on each shoulder. A similar one figured in *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 2, No. 53. Five beads and two cylindrical bronze tubes respectively $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. and 1 in. in length, and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter (see Pl. VI, Fig. 7) on hip; and part of a thin bronze plate $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, $\frac{13}{16}$ in. broad. See No. 2. No. 55.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 11 in. Skull much crushed. Both arms straight. Legs uncrossed. No deposit. No. 56.

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Skeleton No. 57. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 4 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 1½ in. Head straight. Right arm crossed. Left straight. Legs uncrossed. No deposit.

No. 58. Head to south-west. Depth 2 ft. 2 in. Head straight. Right arm crossed. Left straight. A few fragments of human bones, evidently the remains of another skeleton, lay over this one. No deposit.

No. 59. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 9 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 4 in. Head on right side. Right arm crossed. Umbo in angle of right arm. Fragment of bronze binding under umbo. Small bronze stud.

May 5th.

No. 60. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 9 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 9 in. Hands crossed on breast. Legs uncrossed. Situla with iron hoops at left of head, the woodwork of which had entirely disappeared. See Pl. VII, Fig. 1. Spear at right of head. Umbo on pelvis. Sword at left of body. Total length 3 ft., the blade being 2 ft. 7 in. long and 2½ in. broad; portions of its wooden scabbard adhering to it, and fragment of bronze binding 1⅞ in. long, still containing wood, lying separate. Fragments of iron on both hips. Fragment of bronze binding at right knee. Infant's bones 6 inches above this skeleton, close to left leg.

No. 61. Head to west. Depth 3 ft. 6 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. Many bones missing. Saucer-shaped bronze gilt fibula on each shoulder, 2¾ in. in diameter, with raised stud in centre. See Pl. III, Fig. 1. Eleven beads at neck. Pair of bronze clasps on each wrist. A similar pair figured in *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 12, Fig. 4.

No. 62. Head to south. Depth 10 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 1 in. Head straight and much crushed. Left arm crossed over hip. Right arm straight. Legs uncrossed. Very bandy-legged. Two knives on right elbow. Small bronze buckle with iron

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tongue and shank on right hip. Small bronze buckle just inside left knee. SKELETONS

May 6th.

Head to south. Depth 1 ft. 6 in. Head on left side. Right arm straight, left crossed. Small bronze buckle with shank, and knife on left hip. No. 63.

Head to west. Depth 11 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 4 in. Head straight. Right arm straight. Left arm crossed. Legs uncrossed. Knife on left hip. No. 64.

Head to south. Depth 7 in. Length of skeleton 3 ft. 6 in. Head straight. Both arms crossed. Legs uncrossed. Pair of clasps on each wrist, with double S-shaped ornament on each clasp. No. 65.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 5 in. Body on left side. Urn left side of head, see Pl. VII, Fig. 5. Flat circular fibula on each shoulder. Forty-three beads round neck and small iron shroud-pin with them, also third brass Roman coin perforated. No. 66.

May 7th.

Head to west. Feet to east. Depth 1 ft. Skull and many other bones missing, remainder much disturbed. Sword, total length 3 ft., on left side, with fingers of both hands clasping it, and small piece of iron close to hilt. No. 67.

Head to west. Depth 1 ft. 2 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 6 in. Head straight. Both arms straight. Legs uncrossed. No deposit. No. 68.

May 17th.

Head to west. Depth 1 ft. 2¾ in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 1 in. Head on left side. Right hand crossed under hip. Left arm straight. Legs bowed and uncrossed. Spear at right of head. Knife on left hip. No. 69.

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SKELETON

May 19*th.*

No. 70. Head to west. Depth 6 in. Bones disturbed. No deposit.

No. 71. Head to west. Depth of soil 2 ft. 5 in. Body on right side in contracted position. Knife on hip.

No. 72. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 5 in. In same grave with 71, the legs of which were crossed under it. Body on left side. arms straight. Five amber beads under head at neck. Pair of bronze gilt clasps on each wrist. Three fragments of iron close to clasps. Iron ring on finger of left hand. Iron buckle with bronze shank on hip. Two small bronze tubes.

May 20*th.*

No. 73. Head to west. Depth 1 ft. 2 in. Lower part of body lying under tramway, impossible to give exact position. Urn at back of head, see Pl. VII, Fig. 4.

May 21*st.*

No. 74. Head to west. Depth 7 in. Left arm crossed. Right arm straight. Lower limbs under tramway. Knife on left hip. Bronze buckle and shank on right hip. The iron clasp of a purse, similar to that figured in *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. 6, p. 153 *a*. Three small bronze buckles, one with shank entire.

May 22*nd.*

No. 75. Head to west. Depth 4 ft. 6 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 8 in. This and following grave lay in the fosse. Both hands clasped on hip. Bronze gilt saucer-shaped circular fibula on each shoulder, of similar size and design to that figured, Pl. IV, Fig. 1, but without the glass centre. One hundred and thirty beads (one crystal) on right ribs. Two fragments of iron girdle-hangers. Pair of bronze gilt clasps on each wrist, see Pl. IV, Fig. 4. Between the legs and partly beneath the hips lay four rings inside one another, the outer one of ivory, measuring $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter; the second of iron, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter; the

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third also of iron, in fragments; and the fourth of bronze, 1¼ in. in diameter. Under all lay a knife. See *Archaeologia*, Vol. 38, p. 89, No. 49. SKELETON

May 25th.

Head to south-west. Depth 4 ft. 6 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 4 in. Arms straight. Legs uncrossed. Knife and other fragments of iron on right hip and arm. No. 76.

May 26th.

Head to south-west. Depth 2 ft. 10 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 5 in. Both arms straight. Legs uncrossed. Iron buckle on left hip. Knife on right hip. The skeleton of an infant above this grave. No. 77.

Head to south-west. This and the following grave lay in the fosse. Depth 3 ft. 6 in. Length doubtful. The head displaced. Left arm doubled up to head. Right arm crossed on hip. Legs crossed. Close to this lay fragments of the skeleton of an infant, and with them a bronze bracelet with sliding knot 1⅞ in. in diameter. See *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 11, No. 38. No. 78.

Head at south-west. Lying under No. 78. Depth 4 ft. 1 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 3½ in. Head on right side. Both arms crossed on hip. Legs uncrossed. Seven beads at neck. Square-headed fibula on each shoulder. See Pl. II, Fig. 2. No. 79.

May 27th.

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. ½ in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 11 in. Both arms crossed on hip. Legs uncrossed. Cruciform fibula on left shoulder. Flat circular one on right shoulder. Bronze ring with sliding knot with ear- and two other picks attached. For a similar set see *Fairford Graves*, Pl. 9, Fig. 10. Bronze pin with spiral head. No. 80.

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SKELETON

May 28th.

No. 81. Head to west. Depth 3 ft. 10 in. Many bones missing. Urn at back of head, see Pl. VII, Fig. 3. Six beads, two perforated third brass Roman coins, small bronze tube, and fragment of bronze at neck.

No. 82. Head to west. Depth 3 ft. 3 in. Length 5 ft. 4 in. In the fosse. Head straight. Arms crossed on hip. Legs uncrossed. Cruciform fibula on each shoulder, similar to the one figured in *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 6, Fig. 54, but without the cross-bar in the centre. A third large cruciform fibula crossing that on right shoulder. Fourteen amber and twenty-six very small earthen beads. A similar small bead is figured in *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 20, to the right of and a little above centre bead. Ninety-six beads on right ribs. Small bronze ring just above left wrist. Pair of bronze clasps on each wrist. Bronze handle of key lying on ring on left hip, with knife and other fragments of iron surrounded by remains of cloth.

No. 83. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 2 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. Skull on left side. Right arm crossed, left straight. Bronze gilt circular saucer-shaped fibula with blue glass centre on each shoulder. See Pl. IV, Fig. 1.

May 29th.

No. 84. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. ½ in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 4 in. Head straight. Arms straight. Urn at right of head, similar to that figured Pl. VII, Fig. 3. Spear left of head. Knife at right elbow. Small tube, bronze tinned, ⅞ in. long, at right elbow, close to knife. Umbo between hips.

May 31st.

No. 85. Head to west. Depth 3 ft. 4 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 4 in. Head on left side. Right arm crossed, left straight. Legs uncrossed. Square-headed fibula on each shoulder, a similar one figured in *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 5, No. 173. Ten

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beads at neck, also two bronze rings with sliding knot, to one of which is attached an ear-pick, and to the other two tooth-picks. SKELETON

Head to west. Depth 4 ft. 2 in. Length 5 ft. 4 in. Head straight. Arms straight. Legs uncrossed. Two bronze tinned circularfl at fibulae 2⅛ in. in diameter, one on right shoulder, the other above left collar-bone, and partially under head, with which three beads. Above this skeleton were the fragments of that of an infant. No. 86.

June 1*st.*

Head to west. Bones much decayed and many missing. Small fragments of iron about hip. No. 87.

Infant's skeleton: most of bones missing. Urn left of head. No. 88.

June 3*rd.*

In the fosse. Leg bones only remaining. Spear. Bronze buckle with iron tongue and fragment of iron. No. 89.

Head to west. Depth 1 ft. 10 in. Many bones missing. Fragments of two iron buckles with bronze shanks at neck. Seventeen beads on breast. With them two small triangular plates of bronze fastened together with an iron rivet. No. 90.

Head to west. Depth 3 ft. 3 in. In the fosse. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 6 in. Skull crushed. Arms and legs straight. Knife and iron buckle on left hip. No. 91.

June 4*th.*

Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 7 in. In the fosse. Length of skeleton 4 ft. Arms and legs straight. No deposit. No. 92.

June 10*th.*

Head to south-west. Depth 3 ft. 4 in. In the fosse. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 1 in. Many bones missing. Iron buckles on each shoulder. Fifteen beads at neck. Fragment of iron on left hip. No. 93.

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Skeleton No. 94. Head to west. In the fosse. Child. Skull crushed. Legs missing. No deposit.

No. 95. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 8 in. In the fosse. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 6 in. Head on right side. Right arm crossed, left straight. Legs uncrossed. Fragments of bronze clasps on left side.

June 11*th.*

No. 96. Head to west. Depth 3 ft. 1 in. In the fosse. Child's skeleton. Small spear-head at left shoulder.

No. 97. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 9 in. Bones much decayed. Fibula on each shoulder; one square-headed, the other cruciform. Close to head one bead and fragment of bronze, perforated for suspension. Fragments of iron at left hip.

No. 98. Head to south-west. Depth 1 ft. 10 in. Length of skeleton 3 ft. 5 in. Body on left side. Legs contracted. Knife at left of head. Iron buckle on right hip. This skeleton lay close to No. 96, and above No. 99. A spear in the same grave near the feet.

No. 99. Head to south-west. Depth 3 ft. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 6 in. Head straight. Right-arm crossed. Left straight. Spear at right of head. Fragments of iron just above left hip. Knife under right hip. Umbo between legs above the knees: this body had been enclosed in a wooden coffin of which distinct vestiges remained, but their preservation was impossible as they crumbled at a touch.

June 12*th.*

No. 100. Head to south-east. Depth 1 ft. 11 in. Length of skeleton 4 ft. 11 in. Head on right side. Right arm crossed. Left straight. Legs uncrossed. No deposit.

June 14*th.*

No. 101. Head to south-west. Depth 2 ft. 3 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 6 in. Both arms crossed. Legs uncrossed. Spear left

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of head. Umbo on right arm just above the elbow. Knife on right hip. Iron buckle on left hip. Tinned bronze buckle with iron tongue. SKELETON

Head to south. Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Head on right side. Right arm straight, left crossed. Legs contracted. Fragment of iron on right hip. No. 102.

Head to south-west. Depth 1 ft. 4 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 7 in. Right arm straight; left crossed. Spear right of head. Umbo on left arm above elbow (*see p.* 14), with two studs 3 in. from edge of umbo. Knife and iron buckle on left hip. No. 103.

Head to south. Depth 3 ft. 1 in. Length of skeleton 3 ft. 10 in. Both arms crossed. No deposit. No. 104.

June 16*th.*

Head to south-west. Depth 3 ft. 2 in. In the fosse. Length of skeleton 3 ft. 7 in. Arms straight. Legs uncrossed. Knife at right hip. Iron buckle on left hip. No. 105.

Bones much disturbed. No deposit. No. 106.

June 17*th.*

Head to south. Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Skull on left side. Arms straight. Legs bent. Annular fibula on each shoulder. A similar one is figured in *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 3, Fig. 145, but in this case we have the ornament of concentric circles instead of the zigzag pattern there shewn. Small bronze ring at neck. A similar one figured in *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 13, Fig. 100. Pair of clasps on each wrist. Knife on right hip. Iron buckle on left. No. 107.

June 18*th.*

Head to south. Depth 2 ft. Length 5 ft. 6 in. Arms straight. Legs uncrossed. Twenty beads at neck. Fragment of bronze with hook. Bronze gilt saucer-shaped fibula on each shoulder, see Pl. III, Fig. 2. No. 108.

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SKELETON

June 24th.

No. 109. Head to west. Depth 1 ft. 3 in. Child's skeleton. No deposit.

No. 110. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 8 in. Length 5 ft. 4 in. Right arm crossed. Left straight. Legs uncrossed. Bronze cruciform fibula on each shoulder; a similar one figured in *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 7, Fig. 87, but in this case the cross-bar in the centre is larger and slightly different in shape, and the ornamentation of concentric circles instead of dots. Fragment of bronze ring with sliding knot just below neck: forty-five beads scattered about neck and breast. One clasp on left arm above elbow: one clasp on right arm below elbow. Pair of clasps on left wrist, one much broken and part missing. Iron buckle with bronze shank on right hip. Fragments of iron close to buckle and partly under right leg. Bronze pin 3¼ in. long.

No. 111. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 6 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 10 in. Head on left side. Right arm crossed on hip; left on breast. Legs uncrossed. Spear right of right arm.

No. 112. Head to west. Body on right side. Legs bent. Knife and iron ring in bend of knee.

June 26th.

No. 113. Head to west. Depth 3 ft. 1 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 8 in. Head on left side. Left arm straight. Right arm crossed on to hip. Legs uncrossed. Spear right of head. Umbo on left arm and hip. Knife under spine, just above hip. Fragment of iron close to it.

No. 114. Head to west. Depth 2 ft. 3 in. Length of skeleton 5 ft. 1 in. Right arm straight; left crossed on hip. Legs bowed and crossed at angles. Flat circular fibula on each shoulder. Three beads at neck. Pair of clasps on each wrist. Knife on left hip.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

(*All the figures are of the actual size, unless otherwise stated.*)

PLATE I.

		GRAVE
1.	Large cruciform fibula. *Bronze*	82
2.	Bodkin? *Bronze*	15

PLATE II.

1.	Fibula. *Bronze*, shewing some threads of the cloth to which it was fastened, preserved by the iron of the pin . . .	9
2.	„ „	79
3.	„ „ *plated with tin*	23
4.	„ „ „	7
5.	Buckle, with tang in position. *Very white bronze?* . . .	101
6.	Pair of tangs found with No. 5.	

PLATE III.

1.	Saucer-shaped fibula. *Bronze gilt*, with silvered stud raised on a stem in the centre. The device derived from that in No. 2	61
2.	Saucer-shaped fibula. *Bronze gilt*, with silvered stud raised on a stem in the centre. The device derived from the human profile	108

PLATE IV.

1.	Saucer-shaped fibula. *Bronze gilt*, with glass bead in the centre	83
2.	Cruciform fibula. *Bronze gilt*	21
3.	Bird-shaped „ „	13
4.	Pair of clasps „	75

PLATE V.

1.	Circular fibula. *Bronze*	28
2.	Flattened tube. „	7
2*a*.	Back view of end of same.	
3.	Bow-shaped fibula. *Iron*, with bronze pin	47
4.	Ring. *Bronze* }	
5.	Key handle. „ }	82

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PLATE VI.

		GRAVE
1.	Bead, green glass with white pattern	10
2.	„ glass, perfectly colourless, with gold leaf inserted	28
3.	„ blue glass	10
4.	„ bone	108
5.	„ stone	40
6.	„ ivory; view from above	108
6a.	„ „ view from below	
7.	A series of three beads of yellow, red, and green pottery, and two tubes of bronze	55

PLATE VII.

1.	Hoops of a situla. *Iron.* ($\frac{1}{3}$ of actual size)		60
2.	Urn, black pottery	„	
3.	„ dirty yellow pottery	„	81
4.	„ black pottery	„	73
5.	„ „	„	66

PLATE VIII.

Fine cruciform fibula. *Bronze gilt.* Found with the two pairs of clasps, one of which is figured in Plate XI. 2.

PLATE IX.

1. Ivory object (possibly lid of a small box).
2. Necklet of beads, with bronze ring ends.
3. Pair of clasps. *Bronze, tinned.*

PLATE X.

1. Pendant with twisted filigree work. *Electrum*, with raised white composition centre.
2. Knife. *Iron*, with bronze fitted handle. ($\frac{1}{3}$ of actual size.)

PLATE XI.

1. Solid saucer-shaped fibula. *Bronze gilt.*
2. Pair of clasps, with ornament. *Bronze gilt.* One of two pairs found with the fibula figured in Plate VIII.
3. Solid saucer-shaped fibula. *Bronze gilt*, with enamelled centre.

PLATE XII.

1. Flat ring. *Bronze*, rudely ornamented about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the way round. ($\frac{1}{3}$ of actual size.)
2. Large cruciform fibula, with an eye at the lower end. *Bronze.*

Plates VIII, IX, X. 2, and XI. 1 are from the collection of the Rev. J. W. E. Conybeare; the remainder of Plates X and XI, and Plates XII and VII. 2 from the collection of A. F. Griffith, Esq.

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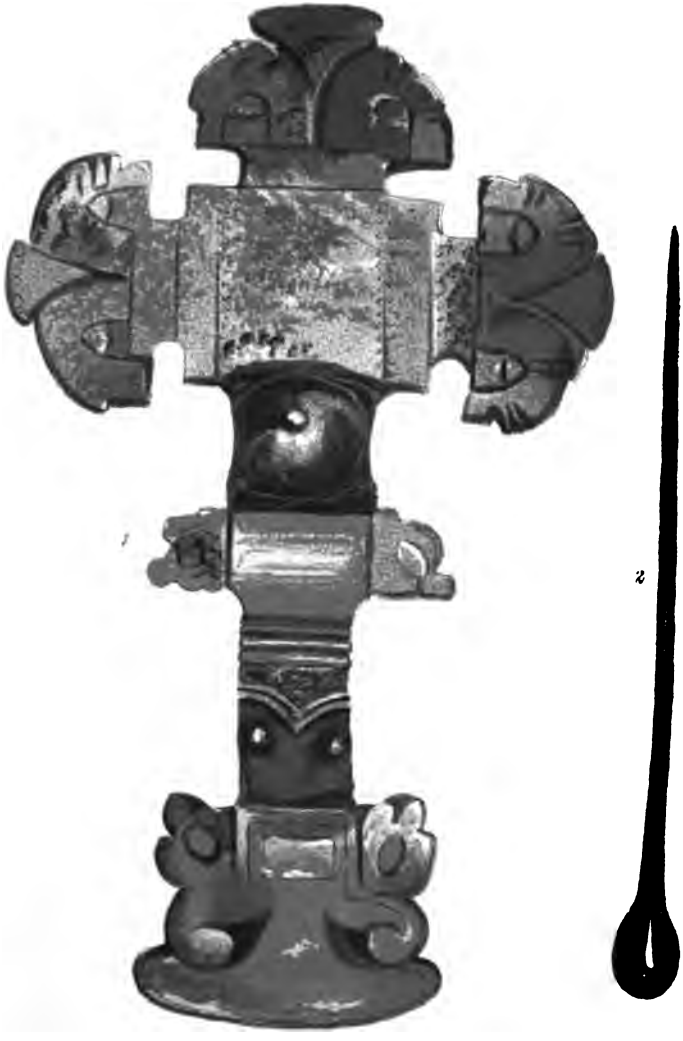

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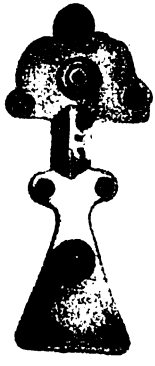

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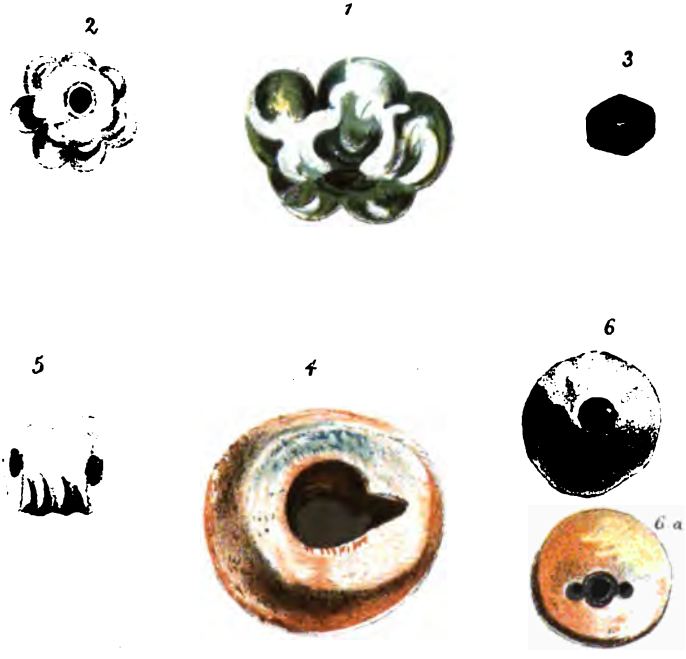

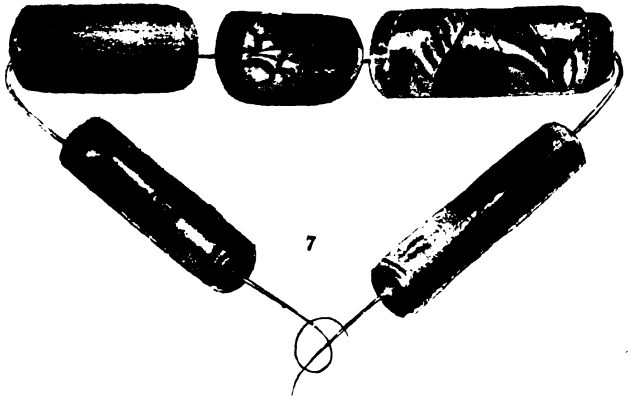

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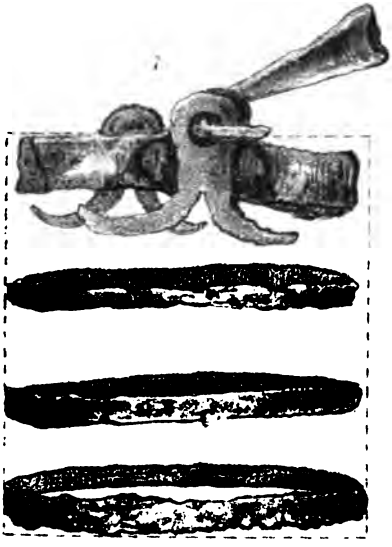

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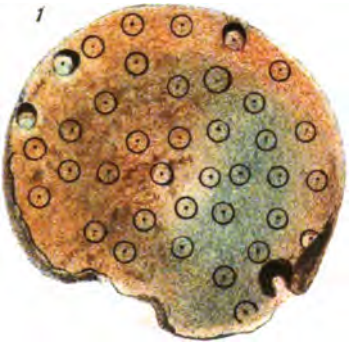

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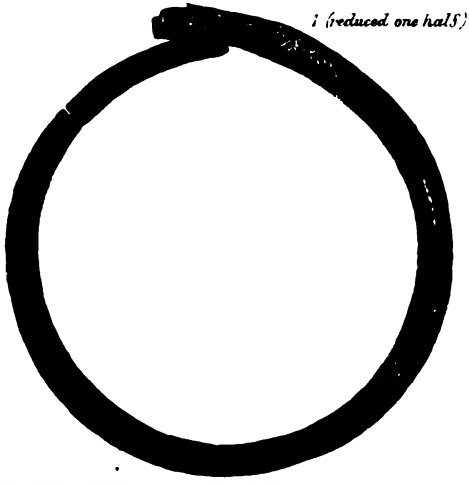

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III. "Stampare a conio." How did the Romans strike their Medallions? Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[February 28, 1881.]

Every intelligent numismatist must often have asked himself the question, "How did the Romans manage without the aid of the coin-press to strike pieces (often in hard bronze), of the dimensions of their so-called medallions, varying from two to

Medallion of Probvs.

Obv. Bust of Probus, laureated and wearing a cuirass: on his right side is seen a lance, on the left a shield ornamented with an equestrian figure of the Emperor, preceded by a Victory and followed by a soldier. IMP(*erator*) PROBVS P(*ius*) F(*elix*) AVG(*ustus*).

Rev. The three Monetae, standing erect and looking to the left; each one holds in her right hand a balance and in the left hand a cornucopiae; at the feet of each is a money-bag full of coin. MONETA • AVG.

three and a half inches in diameter? Their dies, as many existing specimens attest, were of no better material than a brittle mixed metal, something like fusible brass, which, though

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available for the small surface of the current coin, would be certain, as any one acquainted with the process will admit, to fly into fragments under any blow of sufficient force to bring up the relief upon blanks so extensive as those required by the medallions. Besides, examination of the field of the latter clearly proves that the impression of the die was produced by some power that acted evenly and steadily upon the whole surface at once, thus forcing the metal into the most delicate lines of the engraving, not by the violent impact of a single blow given with a heavy hammer; of which latter method all so-called "hammered money" always presents unmistakeable evidence in the unevenness of the relief, the shifting of the letters, and the general irregularity of circumference, resulting from the difficulty of applying such momentary pressure upon the head of a die (the *tressel*) held in the left hand of the monetarius. In coins made by this primitive and expeditious process, the two circumferences of the upper and the lower die seldom exactly coincide, and frequently the one has so far overlain the other, that even where much care has evidently been taken with the mintage, part of the legend on one side is driven, as collectors call it, "off the field." No such failure as this ever disfigures the medallion of the same period; the dies fit as exactly, and the field and edge come forth in almost as true a circle, as are seen in the productions of the modern coining-press.

The latest writer upon the subject, Lenormant[1], has devoted much space to the consideration of the various explanations which have been offered of this difficult problem, but with no better success, it seems to me, than those who have preceded him. He finds his solution of the difficulty in the oft-repeated story about a wall-painting discovered in a crypt at Posilipo representing the interior of a mint, where a great stone suspended over the dies did the duty of a "monkey" by its sudden

[1] *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, vol. I. pp. 251—255.

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fall. But it must be borne in mind that the violent and momentary impact of the "monkey," although available and actually often employed for striking current coin in flat relief, would not produce the effect of the operation to which the medallions are due, even if it did not destroy the dies themselves by the sudden jar. But as no copy is forthcoming of this picture, invaluable as it would be to every student of numismatics, and as there is great possibility of mistake on the part of the ignorant artist who tells the story, no certain argument can be based upon the tradition.

Having said thus much to express my dissatisfaction with the explanation of the eminent French archaeologist, I shall proceed in my turn to propose another, which seems to me at least to meet all the exigencies of the case. It was suggested to me, some time ago, in reading a highly valuable work, very little known to archaeologists; otherwise, I make no doubt, I should have been anticipated in my application of its rules to the present emergency. Cellini in his treatise *Oreficeria*, cap. IX., describes with great minuteness the "old" method of striking medals (as distinguished from current coin), which he calls "*stampare a conio*," "striking by wedge"; at that time (1560) nearly superseded by the coining-press, "*la vite*." The apparatus consisted of an oblong iron frame, called *staffa*, "stirrup," 10½ in. high, 3 in. broad, and 1½ in. thick[1]: within which were placed the dies, which were cut square, and exactly fitted into the frame, so as to prevent all possibility of shifting during the operation. This left a vacancy of 2⅓ in. between the top of the upper die and the inside of the *staffa*, into which were driven, from opposite sides, two great iron wedges, each 15 in. long, and half as thick again at the head as at the point, so as to come well over the top of the dies in the frame. The whole machine was then lifted up, and placed with the head of one

[1] Cellini gives these sizes in *dita*, parts of the Tuscan *braccio* = 21 inches; but I have reduced them to English measure for the sake of clearness.

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wedge resting upon a great stone, and struck upon the other head with a sledge-hammer, *mazzetto*, wielded with both hands; care being taken to turn each head down alternately, in order to secure uniform pressure upon the metal within the dies. The reason for using a stone instead of an anvil for the support of the machine, seems to be that its more yielding nature would obviate the rebound after each blow that would have necessarily resulted from impact upon an unyielding surface. After every five or six blows it was necessary to take out the blank, and anneal it well in the fire in order to restore its softness. Now it is a very singular coincidence that Lenormant remarks that the famous twenty-stater[1] piece of Eucratidas, the largest of Grecian make yet discovered, bears unequivocal traces not merely of having been frequently removed from the dies, but even of the repairing of damages sustained by the dies during the progress of its striking. In addition to all these precautions, Cellini advises that to "ease the dies" by preventing too great strain upon their hollow parts, the blank should first of all be roughly formed to the proposed design by casting in a clay mould made upon the wax impression from the dies.

This simple, effectual, though tedious method (for Cellini observes that a couple of turns of the press does more work than a hundred blows with the hammer) seems to me to have been the very one used by the Romans for striking their great medallions, and to have been preserved by tradition in the practice of the Italian mint. The principle was in reality only that of the oil-press (*trapes*), in which the bags of olives were squeezed under thick beams, laid horizontally, one above the other, in a strong wooden frame, and tightened by wedges driven in successively with a heavy mallet; as is clearly shown in a wall-painting from Herculaneum, representing sportive Cupids at the work. To transfer the method to an operation of another art, but one equally requiring great pressure uniformly

[1] Now in the French National Collection.

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applied, was so obvious a thing, that it could hardly escape the notice of any ingenious mechanic seeking after improvement in monetary instruments.

The previous formation of the blank in a mould will at the same time account for the roundness and uniform thickness of the Roman medallions and for the exact way in which the obverse

Trapes from a painting at Herculaneum.

fits the reverse die; so strongly contrasting with the faultiness in all these particulars that offends the eye in the current coin of the same period. Lastly, it may be added that the strongest evidence in favour of the employment of the *stampare a conio*

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in the Roman mint is furnished by the widespread and thin medallions that commence with Constantine. It is precisely in works of this nature, where the blank is very broad, and its thickness very small, that the defects of the unassisted hammer show themselves most conspicuously, in the double-striking of parts of the relief and the confusion of the lettering, arising from the rebound of the dies after the blow; abundant proofs of which may be seen in all mediaeval gold and silver coins, equal or inferior in circumference to the imperial medallions just quoted. But it will be found that these late medallions are as evenly and truly struck as any of their thick and more contracted predecessors: a fact which renders it incontestable that some mechanical contrivance answering the purpose of the modern coining-press must have been used in their manufacture.

Before quitting the subject of medallions in general, I cannot help adverting to a most singular recent opinion, which Lenormant also endorses, as to the purpose for which they were intended at the time they were issued. The only argument advanced in its favour is based on the circumstance that bronze medallions are sometimes found let into moulded frames of the same metal, which adjunct is supposed to show that several connected together in a vertical row by means of solder constituted the "imagines imperatoriae," known to have been carried on the Roman standards, and often represented on monuments and coins. But nothing can be more ill-considered than such an identification: for, in the first place, the size of these framed medallions is far below that of the circular decorations affixed to the standard poles as estimated by their relative proportions to their bearers; and again, a moment's reflection will convince us that a row of such disks merely united by soldering the edges, would be liable to break with its own weight; not to speak of the heavy ensign carried on its summit. Besides, the evident exertion of strength by the stout *signifer* in the bas-

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reliefs on Trajan's Column is a sure evidence that the standard, however constructed, was a very weighty affair.

But what these *imagines* really were, has recently been made known through a discovery in the ruins of the Praetorian Camp in Rome of a circular bronze disk, seven inches in diameter, bearing the radiated head of Caracalla in front face, and in half-relief. It is admirably done; the face wearing a more than usually truculent expression, befitting the destination to which I assign it, is absolutely full of life. There is every reason to believe that this plaque was the *imago* of a Praetorian ensign, for its dimensions agree well with those of the disks on the standard poles in sculpture, as measured by their relative proportions; and, what is more, the margin is hammered to an edge for the purpose of mounting it in a frame. Now, the usual representation of the *signum militare* shows it as constructed of as many as three strong circular frames, inclosing something in relief, fastened together by their circumference, and mounted on the top of a thick staff terminating in a spear-head for the purpose of fixing it in the ground. (The plaque is admirably figured to the actual size in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1878, Pl. 6.)

By no other method of coining can we explain the use of that very remarkable die published by Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*, Vol. II. pl. LXXXIII. no. 2; and which he was inclined to suppose the instrument of a modern forger, had it not been for its material—hardened copper. This is a perfectly flat disk, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and $\frac{7}{12}$ inch in thickness; engraved with the obverse of a medallion of Claudius, surrounded by a carefully sunk groove, which was evidently intended, as Caylus himself perceived, to fit upon a corresponding moulding in the rim of the other die. From the side projects a "tail," 2 inches long, for the greater convenience in handling the die—a convincing evidence that the pair, when adjusted together, were placed *within* some contrivance resembling in nature Cellini's

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"stirrup"; and therefore not easily accessible from the sides; although the dies required frequent removal from the machine during the process of striking. It is obvious that a die so extensive in surface and so thin in substance as this could not receive the direct blows of the hammer without speedy destruction, but that it must have been made to yield its impression by means of some steadily applied force like that exerted by the wedges in the operation already described. Another curious particular remarked by Caylus is that the deeper cavities of the engraving still retain particles of gold, showing upon what material the die had anciently been employed; and yet from its extraordinary magnitude it could only have served for medallions of the largest size known to the Romans, of which no specimens are extant of so early a date.

MEDALLION OF FAVSTINA I.

Obv. Bust of Faustina Senior wearing a veil: DIVA • AVG(*usta*) FAVSTINA.

Rev. Portrait statue of Faustina as Immortality, standing erect and looking to the left; in her right hand she holds a globe on which stands a phoenix; the left arm rests upon a cippus (the emblem of stability): AETERNITAS.

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IV. On the portrait of Homer upon an unpublished coin of Nicaea in Bithynia. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

[March 14, 1881.]

Pliny remarks, in his pithy way, '*Pariunt desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit*[1]': 'Our longings give birth to fancy-portraits where no real ones are preserved, as is the case with regard to Homer's.' Not to trouble ourselves about the problem whether there ever was a living Homer at all, we may safely assert that he lived long before portrait-painting was known. According to Pliny[2] it was Pemonios[3], brother of Pheidias, who inaugurated the style by introducing into his picture of the Battle of Marathon the actual likenesses of Miltiades, Kallimachos and Kynaigeiros on the side of the Greeks, and of Datis and Artaphernes on that of the Persians: another brother, Kolotes, did the same for statuary, and heads the long catalogue of artists who devoted themselves to this particular branch of the art. And yet it must be owned that the type of Homer's features was very early established by some high authority, and received with unanimous consent; for we see it reproduced without the least variation from the best times of Roman sculpture—perhaps even earlier—down to its latest degradation in the Contorniate medals of the Lower Em-

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxv. cap. 2.
[2] *Ibid.* xxxv. cap. 34.
[3] Some editors conjecture *Panainos*.

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pire, for which the head of Homer forms a popular obverse. The extant busts in marble, which the industrious Visconti has published in his '*Iconographie Grecque*,' are no doubt Roman copies from some original of established reputation; they are the offspring of the fashion of decorating libraries with authors' likenesses, an easy method of gaining the reputation of a connoisseur:

> nam perfectissimus horum est,
> Si quis Aristotelem similem vel Pittacon emit,
> Et jubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthis.
>
> JUVENAL, *Sat.* II. 5—7.

The prototype, being a Grecian work, was necessarily in *bronze*, the exclusive material of the *statuarius*; marble being appropriated to architectural decorations.

It is not impossible that this original was to be found in the celebrated bronze figure so copiously lauded by the Byzantine, Christodorus, in his Description of the *antique* statues decorating the Gymnasium of Zeuxippus at Constantinople, which he addressed to the emperor Anastasius; where it stands fifty-fifth in the list. They were eighty-six in all, the spoils of ancient temples and gymnasia. They were equally divided between ideal and portrait figures. All perished in the great fire raised during the "Nika" sedition in the 5th year of Justinian (532 A.D.).

> "The bronze that bears the mighty *Homer's* form,
> With soul replete, with living spirit warm,
> (Voice only wanting) human skill surpassed,
> For sure some god that life-like statue cast:
> No earthly artist with conception bold
> From earthly furnace filled that wondrous mould.
> But Pallas' self, with her own hand divine
> Modelled that image of her human shrine,
> For she with Phoebus, throned in Homer's brain,
> Co-partners there, rolled forth the sounding strain.
> And there, a mortal equal to a god,
> Homer divine, our sacred father stood.
> Aged his look, but age had added grace,
> And lent a sweetness to his reverend face:

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A friendly air with modesty combines;
And majesty from every feature shines.
His neck with age was bowed, but o'er it hung
His clustering locks in massy tresses flung;
Wound drooping past his ears, in rounded rows,
The spreading beard in soft luxuriance flows,
Not pointed; to his face, as it descends
Down his bare breast, an added charm it lends:
On his bald forehead Virtue sits enthroned;
His jutting brows the sculptor's forethought owned:
Though to his eyes denied Sol's cheering beam,
Far other than the blind's his features seem.
And beauteous still the orbs, though sightless, roll,
Type of the inner day that lights the soul.
The slightly sunken cheeks, a furrowed page,
Bespeak the progress of advancing age:
But Majesty, deep stamped on every line,
Dwells with the Graces in one common shrine,
The Bee Pierian, hovering round his lips,
Their honey-dropping treasure ever sips.
With both hands crossed, as in his life, he's seen
Bent forward on his trusty staff to lean.
With right ear turned Apollo's voice to hear,
Or else the whispers of his Muses dear;
Buried in thought, with pinions unconfined
Through boundless space high soars the poet-mind,
From her deep sanctuary borne along,
Weaving as she flies the Muses' syren song."[1]

The Greeks (but unfortunately at too late a period in their history) invented a most effectual method of perpetuating the likenesses of the ancient heroes of literature or science, by placing their heads, or occasionally their full figures, upon the current coin of the cities which had either given them birth, or were inseparably connected with their history. But of this they only bethought themselves, when, having been reduced to servitude by the Romans, they no longer had a political existence, but lived solely on the memories of the Past: being deprived of the right of coining the precious metals (the exclusive privilege of the Caesars) they were only allowed to strike small

[1] From C. W. King's *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, pp. 352—3.

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change for local circulation; exactly as our own trading cities did at the beginning of this century; and in a style of art not many degrees superior to theirs. The material, too, was of the worst possible kind for durability, *lead* being substituted for the too expensive *tin* in the composition of the bronze, rendering the alloy extremely susceptible of oxidation; the whole strongly attesting both the poverty and the dishonesty of the times. What an invaluable portrait-gallery we should now possess, had the practice been introduced when higher skill and a nobler material were at the command of the Hellenic mint-master, may be estimated from the following list of portraits to be found rudely attempted upon the small brass of Greece under the Empire. Besides Homer upon the currency of several of the towns that claim the honour of his birth, we possess Sappho and Alkaios upon that of Mytilene, Herodotus on that of Halicarnassus; with Anakreon, Stesichoros and Aratos in their respective countries. The philosophers thus cheaply immortalised are Bias, Chrysippos, Anaxagoras, Apollonios of Tyana, Pittakos, Pythagoras, Euclid, Herakleitos, Theophanes, Hipparchos, Hippokrates, and his disciple, Xenophon of Cos.

Sparta exhibits the traditional features of Lykourgos; Byzantium, the actual likeness of its restorer, Themistokles; and of more recent celebrities we meet with Sextus Empiricus, and with Nausicaa and Julia Procla, two poetesses, doubtless held by their own Lesbian fellow-citizens of the Antonine age to be rivals of Sappho, but of whom no record survives but these little coins.

And lastly, to show that fame of any kind was held a sufficient passport to this sort of immortality, Corinth gives the head of her notorious Lais, done in a style not totally unworthy of her beauty, and with a most interesting reverse of her monument, a Doric column supporting the very appropriate device of a lioness slaughtering a calf.

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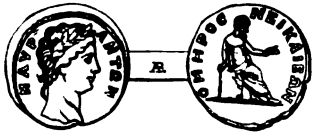
These coin-portraits, be it remembered, were derived from the most authentic sources. Not to speak of the famous men who were honoured with statues by the vote of great republics, the smallest town, in the remotest region of the civilised world, was zealous to pay the same compliment to the ephemeral celebrity of which it boasted.

A single instance will suffice. Alexander upon entering Phaselis in Pamphylia, on his Persian campaign, was delighted to find the newly-erected statue of his favourite tragic poet Theodektes[1], then lately deceased. The coinage of free Hellas, despite the matchless beauty of its *ideal* heads of deities and mythic heroes, certainly falls short of the living interest of this, the puny offspring of the period of her decrepitude.



The coin, which suggested these remarks (figured above to the actual size), I bought from M. Lambros at Athens, in January, 1881; it is believed to be unique, or at least hitherto unpublished, and may be described as follows:

obv. Youthful bust of Marcus Aurelius, laureated: M · AYP · ANTΩN.

rev. Homer, bearded and laureated, seated on a rock, and looking at a scroll which he holds in his left hand: OMHPOC · NEIKAIEΩN.

The portrait may in this case be considered with great probability to be a reduced copy from the statue, which (as we learn from Aelian[2]) was set up by Ptolemy Philopator in the temple that he had erected in honour of Homer. It is remarkable that of the seven cities mentioned in the familiar

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, cap. 17.

[2] *Var. Hist.* XIV. 22.

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distich as disputing the honour of being Homer's birth-place, and inscribed by Varro beneath Homer's bust—

> Ἑπτὰ πόλεις διερίζουσιν περὶ ῥίζαν Ὁμήρου
> Σμύρνα, Ῥόδος, Κολοφών, Σαλαμὶν, Ἴος, Ἄργος, Ἀθῆναι—

only three—Smyrna, Kolophon, and Ios—have left us extant coins that preserve the memory of their hero; while he is frequently found commemorated also on the bronze coinage of Amastris, Chios, Kyme, Laodicea ad Maeandrum, Larissa, Troadis, Melos, Myrina, Prusias ad Hypium: and now an earlier one than was hitherto known of Nicaea[1] (the city of the great Council) is added to the list.

The position of all these cities, either in Asia Minor or on the eastern side of the Aegaean Sea, seems to suggest an Ionian, or at least an Asiatic, origin for the Homeric poems. But it was at Smyrna ('The Queen of Anatolia') that the cult of Homer had taken the deepest root. Here, even in the silvery days of Asiatic independence, money, called Ὁμήρειον, was struck in his especial honour; and the same name was given to a temple in a quadrangular cloister[2], which the Smyrniotes had built on the right bank of the Meles. From Plutarch and Lucian we learn that the enthusiasm of a later age saluted him as Μελησιγενής, and Philostratos even calls him the son of Meles.

For very substantial aid in compiling this notice, I hereby express my hearty gratitude to the Rev. C. W. King, of Trinity College.

[1] Leake (*Numismata Hellenica*, As. Greece, p. 90) had already quoted a large brass coin of this Nicaea, bearing on the *obverse* the busts 'regardant' of Valerian and Gallienus, but on the *reverse* a design and legend similar to the one under consideration.

[2] στοὰ τετράγωνος ἔχουσα νεὼν Ὁμήρου καὶ ξόανον κ.τ.λ.
STRABO, *Geograph.* XIV. page 646 B.

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V. On the earthen rampart at Perekop, at the entrance to the Crimea. Communicated by the Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D., Emmanuel College.

[May 16, 1881.]

The recent discussion on Offa's Dyke, at the meeting of this Society (November 29, 1880), has induced me to offer a paper on the large rampart stretching across the Isthmus of Perekop at the entrance to the Crimea. Allowing for the uncertainty which surrounds the determination of its age upon such historical *data* as can be adduced respecting it, and admitting that its claims to be pre-historic are not conclusively made out, we still have in it an example of a work of defence to which, so far as I know, the Newmarket Dyke is in respect of dimensions the nearest parallel. Of the latter work, Lysons[1] says that "it is nowhere so perfect as for the space of about a mile, beginning at Reach; the works here consist of a deep ditch, with an elevated vallum, the slope of which measures 52 feet on the west, and 26 feet on the east side: the whole of the works are about 100 feet in width." It is fortunate that while the subject of my paper is so remote, its rival is so completely within reach of most of our members. Not having visited Perekop myself, I felt some hesitation in writing on the subject: but on consideration, I have thought it best to offer in a collected form all that I can find in various writers or travellers respecting it, leaving my readers to draw their own

[1] *Cambridgeshire*, 1810, 4to. p. 74.

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inference as to its probable origin. It will be observed that I have not arranged my authorities in chronological order, but rather in such a way as seems to me best to present the facts of the case.

(1) From Clarke, about 1800.

"By the appearance which Perecop makes in all the maps, it might be expected that a tolerable fortress would be found there to guard the passage of the isthmus: yet nothing more wretched can be imagined than the hamlet which supplies a few worn-out invalids with quarters. A very inconsiderable rampart extends from sea to sea, the distance across the isthmus in the narrowest part scarcely exceeding five miles; the water being visible from the middle of the passage on either side. On the north side of this rampart is a fosse twelve fathoms wide and twenty-five feet deep; but it is dry, and destitute of any means by which it may be inundated. The rest of the fortification, which was originally a Turkish work, is in a state of neglect and ruin." Vol. I. p. 581[1].

(2) From Heber.

"At Perekop are only one or two houses, inhabited by the Postmaster and Custom House Officers, and a little barrack. The famous wall is of earth, very lofty, with an immense ditch. It stretches in a straight line from sea to sea, without any remains of bastions or flanking towers that I could discover. The Golden Gate is narrow, and too low for an English waggon."—Heber, MS. *Journal of Travels*: quoted by Clarke.

(3) From Broniovius, ambassador from Transylvania to the Tartars, A.D. 1600.

"Et quoniam per universum ut Strabo Isthmum dicit qui inter paludem et mare dimidii milliaris tantum spatio ferè

[1] The references are to the edition printed at Cambridge, 1810, 4to. A biographical dictionary says of Clarke that "neither his observations nor his conclusions can always be relied on."

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continetur, fossa profundissima et lata facta est, oppidum fossae appellationem sortitum est: quod in hodiernam usque diem a Tartaris ac ipsis pariter Turcis sermone illorum retinet." Later on he says, "turres 17 in ea [fossa] excitatae sunt," viz. at the defeat of the Nogay Tartars by Sachiberg. When this occurred, I do not know.

Marco Polo mentions nothing on the road between Soudak, near Aloupka, on the southern coast of the Crimea, and Bolgar, on the Volga, where the Tartar Khan then lived.

(4) But Rubruquis, in the year 1253 (*Hakluyt*, Vol. I. p. 81, ed. 1809), has the following passage:

"Sunt autem alta promontoria super mare a Kersovâ usque ad orificium Tanais: et post illa Montana versus Aquilonem est pulcherrima sylva in planicie plena fontibus et rivulis: et post illam sylvam est planicies maxima quae durat per quinque dietas usque ad extremitatem illius provinciae ad aquilonem, quae coarctatur habens mare ad Orientem et Occidentem: ita quod est unum fossatum magnum ab uno mari usque ad aliud."

Kersova is probably the Chersonese, near Sebastopol: *orificium Tanais* must be, I think, the Straits of Kertch.

A recent French translator turns the end of the passage, "La mer enserre cette terre à l'est et à l'ouest, et la fait ressembler à un large fossé," I think no doubt erroneously. I take it to mean: "The result is that there is a large trench from one sea to the other."

(5) From Pallas.

"The present narrow isthmus was fortified in old times, in order to secure the whole peninsula from inroads of the Scythians. This fortification consisted originally of a wall at some time provided with towers, whence the place has derived its Grecian name *Neon Teichos* or New Wall. The present fortification of the isthmus dates from the Turks, and consists

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of a strong wall or rather rampart running from the Black Sea to the Siwasch (or Putrid Sea), and a deep ditch furnished with groins of quarried stone, and still in good condition. If we observe that the stone employed here must have been brought at least 50 wersts, the nature of the work will excite surprise. The ditch is about 12 fathoms broad and 25 feet deep: the wall has lost something of its height in course of time. From the thoroughfare westwards to the Black Sea, the length of the line amounts to five wersts and a half, and on this side were three batteries, the strongest of which lies close to the sea. Eastward to the Siwasch it is three wersts' distance, with only two batteries, one of which lies actually on the Siwasch. This breadth of nine wersts and a half agrees pretty closely with that given by Strabo, of forty stades, reckoning about five stades to the werst: and is an example of the astonishing accuracy which this old geographer has exhibited in his description of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoph, including the Crimean Peninsula.

"While *Perekop*, the Russian name of the fortress, signifies a trench across or a fortification of the Isthmus, the Tartar name *Or-kapi* indicates the gate of the line or fortification. As a matter of fact, close to the fortress, a bridge with a stone arched gateway leads into the Crimea. Close to the eastern side of the gateway, within and close to the trench, lies the fortress Perekop properly so called, an irregular specimen of fortification...

"A very clear view of the fortress, lines and gateway of Perekop, giving the usually lively summer traffic, and taken from the side of the Crimea, is exhibited on Plate I."—Pallas, *Travels*, 1792.

(6) Abstract of Manstein's *Memoirs*, p. 140.

The night march of the Russian forces under Marshal Munich is described. One day near the end of May 1736 they

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arrived near the lines, early in the morning, and, surprising the Tartars who were defending them, and aided by artillery, they had no difficulty in becoming masters of them. They are described by Manstein, who was with the Russian army and promoted for his bravery on this occasion. He was afterwards employed by Frederick the Great, in whose service he was killed in a skirmish, shortly after the battle of Kollin, in 1757. He says that the lines were about seven wersts or two French leagues in length, with only one passage through them near the town of Perekop. He says they had six towers of stone, armed with cannon. The ditch was twelve toises by seven, or seventy by forty feet, the height from the bottom of the ditch to the parapet being seventy feet, the parapet being thick in proportion. Five thousand men had been employed on the lines for some years, and the Tartars believed them impregnable; and so, Manstein says, they would have been with any other soldiers. In the year 1738, according to Manstein (p. 276), the lowness of the water in the part of the sea of Azoph, or Siwasch, adjoining the lines, was such that the Russians were able to outflank the lines, and enter the Crimea dry-shod.

Von Hammer (*History of the Ottoman Empire*, XIV. p. 361) compares the lines with those of the Hexamilon on the Isthmus of Corinth, which he says might have protected the Morea against the invasions of the Turks; his description seems in the main to have been borrowed from that of Manstein.

Baron de Toll, about 1780, gives a similar account of them.

Démidoff[1], writing in the year 1839, says;

"Or-Gapy, Porte Royale. C'est ainsi que les Tatars désignaient l'entrée assez mesquine d'un retranchement qui

[1] *Voyage dans la Russie Méridionale*, p. 367; the second edition was published at Paris in 1854.

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coupait l'Isthme et qui joignait les deux mers. Lorsque on a passé sur un pont traversant le fossé assez profond, mais très dégradé, qui subsiste encore, on est à Pérécop...Son nom actuel, tiré d'un mot russe dont le sens signifie un fossé creusé entre deux mers, peint tout à fait son rôle dans la géographie taurique...steppes salins qui portent encore l'empreinte d'une ancienne submersion. Hérodote, Strabon, Pline ont émis l'opinion que des âges antiques avaient vu la Tauride separée du grand continent: la nature des terrains de l'isthme ne dément pas cette hypothèse. Son niveau est si peu élevé que du milieu du passage qui a cependant sept verstes d'étendue, on pourrait se croire plus bas que les deux mers."

I do not know of any other modern traveller who has examined the ditch. Mr Russell states that after the close of the war in 1856 four English officers travelled through the northern part of the Crimea, and reached the bridge at Chongar near Genitchi, where they were surprised at the strong stream of water flowing westward under the bridge there. They also visited Perekop, where they are said to have observed an old wall and parapet, as well as a Tartar citadel; but though they speak of the defences there as facing northwards, they do not seem to have examined them from an antiquarian point of view. The seizure of Kinburn, as will be remembered, was not followed up, so that the place itself never came into the hands of the allies.

Having now obtained a clear notion of the present aspect of this great earthwork, we will proceed to investigate its claims to be considered prehistoric. These claims are founded in great measure upon the identification of it with ramparts mentioned by classical writers.

Herodotus, IV. 3, 20, 28, mentions a trench which he says was made by the sons of the slaves of the Scythians who invaded Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians; and adds that on

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their return they recovered the Crimea. But when he says that the trench extended from the Tauric Mountains to the Palus Maeotis, he appears at first sight to be describing the trench from Theodosia (Caffa) to Arabat (formed about B.C. 50 by Asander, and mentioned by Strabo). It may be added that Herodotus had been at a place, Hexampaei, on the peninsula between the Bug and Dnieper, and so close to Perekop.

Strabo does not mention the trench at Perekop. Perhaps he speaks of a locality named Ταφροὶ, but the MS. reading in this place is Ταφίοι. Whether he had visited the Crimea is not quite certain. He says of himself: "Westwards I have travelled from Armenia to the parts of Tyrrhenia adjacent to Sardinia: towards the south from the Euxine to the borders of Ethiopia:" and also he compares the Crimea and the Morea as nearly equal in size. Now the former extends over $3\frac{1}{3}$ degrees of long. by $1\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ of lat.; and the latter, over $2\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$ long. by $2\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ lat., which is not a very close resemblance.

Pliny speaks of a place named Taphrae, "in ipsis angustiis paeninsulae."

Pomponius Mela also speaks of a place of that name.

Ptolemy, in his Geography, also gives a Τάφρος, and its latitude and longitude compared with those of Eupatoria pretty well agree. But none of these four speak distinctly of a trench, or rampart.

Of the modern geographers:

D'Anville (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* XXXV. p. 581), identifies Herodotus's trench with that now existing at Perekop.

Mannert IV. 281 (a most careful writer) will not have Perekop, but the ditch from Theodosia to Arabat, to represent Herodotus's trench.

Niebuhr, *V. M.* Vol. I. p. 157, says: "Herodotus does not know of the Crimea as a peninsula: he is quite aware that the promontory runs into the Pontus, but he looks on the land as a promontory like Iapygia or Attica. Consequently, as the

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Maeotis, running N. and S., forms the eastern boundary of Scythia, we are to look for the wall which the slaves threw up, in the Crimea: not however at Perekop, but at the Bosporus, across which the Cimmerians previously fled."

Bähr inclines to the view that the isthmus of Perekop is not the site of Herodotus's trench.

It will be seen that the opinions of the best authorities who have written on the subject support the view that the rampart or trench spoken of by Herodotus is not the one now existing at Perekop.

I am still of opinion that the satisfactory evidence we have as to the alternative site of Herodotus's rampart, viz. the isthmus of Arabat or Kertch, excludes the possibility that it was situated there. We possess published narratives by three travellers, viz., Pallas, about the year 1794; E. D. Clarke, about 1800; and a Frenchman named Dubois, about 1833; all of whom traversed this isthmus; and they entirely agree as to the ramparts of which traces or remains are now to be seen upon it; while they uniformly represent any ditch or trench adjoining either of these ramparts as being on the western side, i.e. that nearest the Crimea. I do not myself see how any of them can be the rampart spoken of by Herodotus.

I have thought it best to print extracts from each of the travellers whom I have named.

(1) Pallas, *Travels in Southern Russia*, II. p. 264 (abstract):

"On the road from Kaffa (or Theodosia) to Kerteh (at 22 wersts = 14 miles), near a hamlet named Schibon, we discerned an elevated line with heaps of stone or earth at intervals. It is said to reach northwards to the sea of Azof: at this point it runs E. and W. but farther south seems to turn towards the bay of Kaffa. It is also said to run towards the hills adjoining that place. At intervals of 180 paces are hillocks with remains of stone walls enclosing them, sixty to eighty paces

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in diameter. Here and there on the *West* side, are traces of a ditch: and hollows, from which perhaps clay was obtained to build the wall."

pp. 269—270. "Four wersts from the Station Argin (some distance from Kertch), one sees clearly above the undulating plain the strong line consisting of wall and ditch which at one time unquestionably formed the boundary between the kingdom of the Bosphorus and the dominions of the inhabitants of the Chersonese. This enormous wall is at the base about 40 archines (= 90 feet) in thickness, and the ditch on its *west* side about twenty. Near the road are apparently the remains of a gateway." This ditch may certainly be taken to be mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus[1].

(2) Dubois, *Voyage au Caucase*, v. 239—241, specifies the three walls: and at p. 192 we see that the ditch was to the *west* in the third as well as in the two other walls, as he says: "within the rampart, 150 paces to the east of the Mont d'Or:" having previously informed us that the Mont d'Or was at the point of union of the two branches of the long earthen rampart extending from the Black Sea to the Sea of Azof.

(3) Clarke, *Travels*, I. 425.

The tomb of Mithradates, as it is called, "stands exactly upon the vallum which formed the inner barrier of the Bosporian Empire. This work still exists in an entire state, having a fosse in front, and passing across this part of the peninsula in a northerly direction from Altyn Obo to the Sea of Azof....Beyond the vallum to the west there are no tumuli,

[1] *De administr. imp.* c. 53. He mentions the erection *by the Chersonites* of two successive ὀροθεσίαι, one (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ λεγομένου Καφᾶ τόποις) in the second generation after Diocletian, the other (which left the Bosporians only 40 miles of land) somewhat later.

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although they are so numerous on its eastern side, that is to say on the Bosporian territory."

p. 436. "After the second station [towards Kaffa] we passed another antient boundary or vallum like that which has been described before, on which may be discerned the traces of turrets which were placed along this second barrier of the Bosporians."

p. 442. "In the last stage to Kaffa we passed the third, that is to say the outer, vallum or boundary of the Bosporians. Its remains, as well as those of the towers placed thereon, were very visible."

There is evidently no trace, on the peninsula of Kertch, of any rampart with the fosse on the eastern or, speaking with reference to the Crimea, the exterior side, as is required by the narrative of Herodotus.

Negatively therefore the evidence leads us back to Perekop: and as there is no evidence that the Tartars or Turks during the times of the Lower Empire executed any other works of the kind, we have some grounds for assigning it to an earlier period. And if we could be sure that the existing rampart was there in the time of Herodotus, whom we know to have been once not more than a hundred miles away from the spot, it would be reasonable to suppose that he was likely to mention so conspicuous a structure.

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PLATE I

1.

Reduced half the natural size.

2.

Natural Size.

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PLATE II.

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Natural Size.

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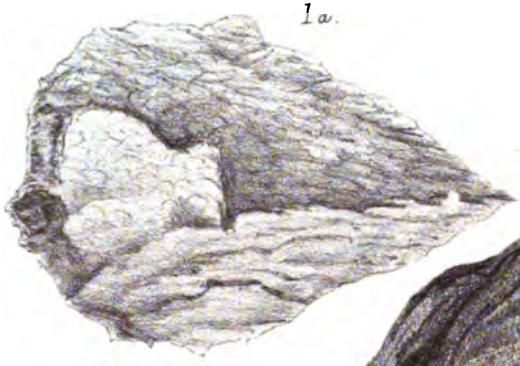
PLATE III.



Natural Size.

Natural Size.

Natural Size. — Same as above.

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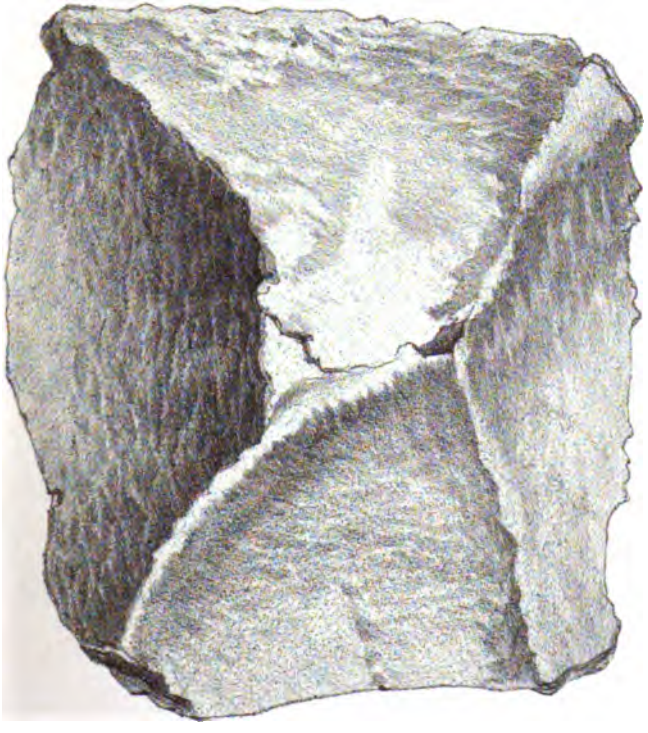
PLATE IV.

1.



2.

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PLATE V.

1.

2.

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Natural Size.

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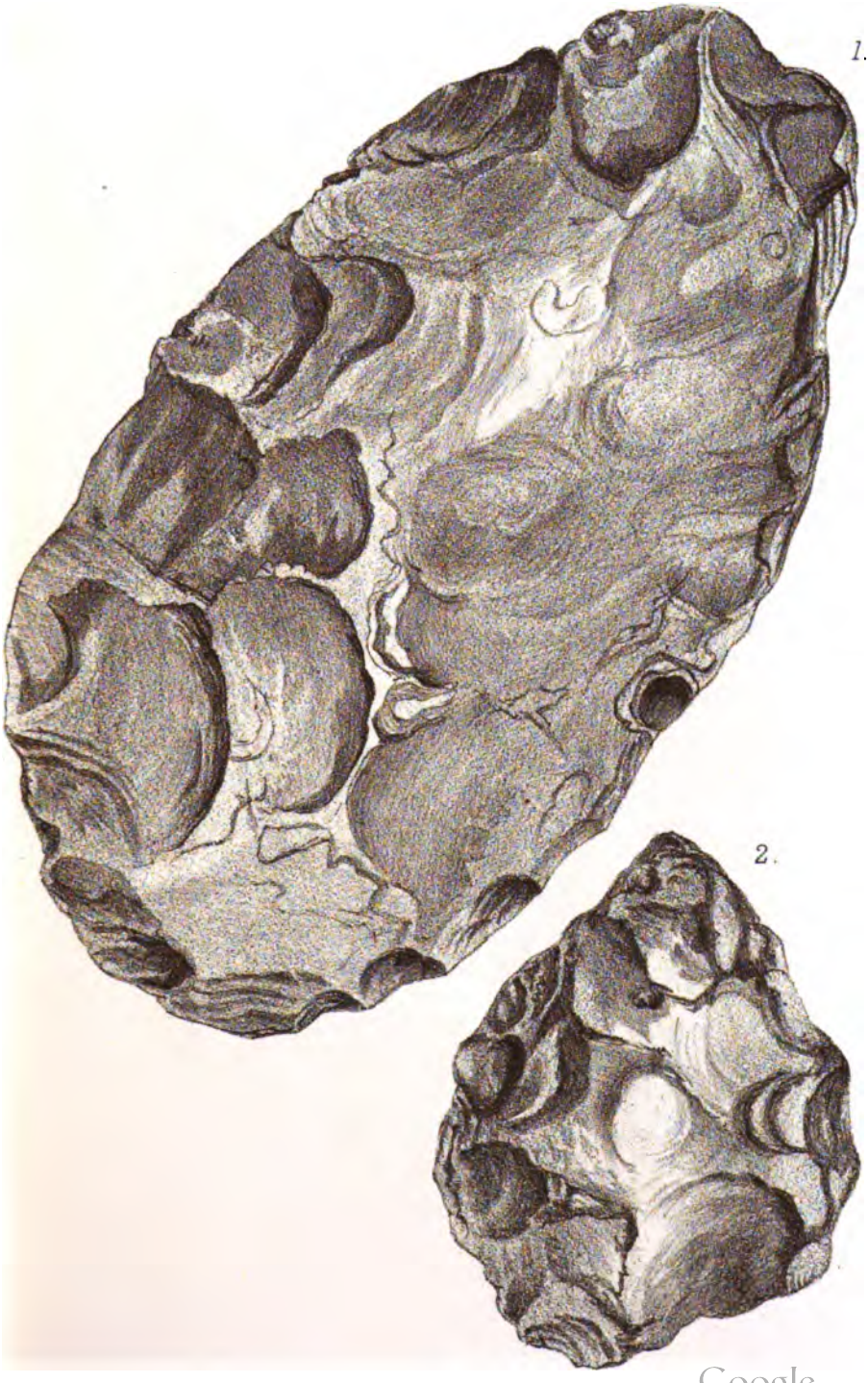
Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm. Vol. V. No VI.



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Natural Size.

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VI. Notes on four series of Palaeolithic Implements from South Africa. By Mr John C. Rickard, Cambridge. Communicated, with remarks, by A. F. Griffith, Esq., B.A., Christ's College.

[November 29, 1880.]

The four series of Palaeolithic Implements which I have the honour to bring before your notice this evening, have a peculiar interest, not only as coming from a district from which very few have hitherto reached England, but more especially from the careful way[1] in which their finder, Mr J. C. Rickard of this town, has recorded the circumstances of their discovery. During a residence of some years in the colony, and a journey to and from the Diamond fields, he has collected a large series of both Palaeolithic and Neolithic types. The specimens before you are a selection from the former, which he has very kindly lent for exhibition. In general form they at once strike one as being very similar to those discovered in England and France, the differences being in most cases due rather to the different character of the rocks employed in their manufacture than to any radical divergence in type. In fact the few similar specimens from the same part of the world which had formerly

[1] Others who have collected these implements have not succeeded in giving a very clear history of their origin. Mr Sanderson (*Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1878, p. 15) quotes Mr Gooch as dividing the implements of Natal into two groups, one comprising those occurring at a depth of from 1 to 4 feet in deposits of laterite, nodular limestone and marl throughout the colony, belonging to Palaeolithic types, and distributed very evenly throughout those deposits, the other including those found in the drift sand on the surface, these being of more local distribution and of Neolithic age. The President in his Annual Address, January 28, 1879, desired "further information before adopting any definite views upon this subject."

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found their way to England have simply from this external resemblance to our European Palaeolithic implements been assumed to be of the same age with them. The account which Mr Rickard has drawn up, giving the particulars of their mode of occurrence, will I think conclusively prove on surer geological grounds the truth of this assumption. I cannot do better than read *in extenso* the notes he has kindly placed at my disposal.

Mr Rickard's Notes.

"The Stone implements of South Africa, like those of Europe, belong to two distinct periods, the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic.

"Those of the Palaeolithic age may again be subdivided into two groups, which I may provisionally name from the localities in which they are respectively the predominant forms, calling the first the Port Elizabeth, and the second, which may possibly represent the earlier part of the Cave-period of Europe, the East London group. I prefer for the present to use these names, since the term 'Cave-period', applied to South African implements, would be so suggestive of 'Bushman caves' that confusion would probably arise from its use; there is also the objection that implements of Palaeolithic age have not yet been discovered in South Africa in caves.

"In point of fact, the implements from this district may be classified generally as follows:—

Palaeolithic.

I. *Port Elizabeth group:*

(a) Port Elizabeth gravels capping hill (B); fauna unknown.

(b) River-bed at the Junction (A); fauna unknown.

II. *East London group:*

(a) Port Elizabeth rocky *débris* on slope of hill (C); fauna unknown.

(b) East London lateritic (?) deposits (D); fauna unknown.

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NEOLITHIC.

I. *Prehistoric:*

(a) Early Kitchen Middens; Eland, Koodoe (?) seal, birds, tortoise, fish, and abundance of shells; pottery absent or very scarce.

(b) The Cape Flats deposits (implements of vastly superior workmanship to any of the others); pottery and fauna unknown (to me).

II. *Historic* (or overlapped by the Historic period):

(a) Bushman caves and rock shelters (many of the surface implements belong to this period, but it is very difficult to distinguish them from others); pottery present.

(b) Late Kitchen Middens (scarcely to be called a "stone" period, *no* cutting implements of stone; but rubbers, hammers, grindstones, &c. plentiful); a few bone pins; beads; pottery ornamented. The bones are principally of fish and small rodents; plenty of shells.

"The four series of implements at present under discussion belong to the Palaeolithic age, series *A* and *B* representing the Port Elizabeth, and *C* and *D* the East London group; those in series *A* are from the junction of the Riet and Modder rivers, tributaries of the Vaal, *B* and *C* from Port Elizabeth, Algoa Bay, and those in *D* from East London, at the mouth of the Buffalo river. These localities are widely separated, the coast stations being about 150 miles apart, the 'Junction' about 350 miles north of Port Elizabeth, and about 320 miles from East London.

"The implements from the 'Junction'[1] were found in the bed of the river immediately below the point where the rivers become confluent, lying either on the bare rock, or in small hollows containing a little coarse gravel; I collected upwards of eighty specimens in a few hours, but had to abandon the majority of them on account of the difficulty and cost of transport.

"Those from Port Elizabeth marked *B*[2] are from two de-

[1] See Plates I. and II.

[2] See Plate III. and Plate IV. fig. 1.

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pressions on the hill above the business part of the town; these hollows have lately been deepened some two or three feet, connected by an open trench, and utilized as water reservoirs; the material excavated was used for embanking the lower parts of the margin; it consists of water-worn gravel sometimes cemented together into 'ironstone,' and yellowish sandy clay; the implements were collected from the embankments and from the newly exposed bottoms of the reservoirs.

"I have formed an opinion of the great age of these specimens independently of their singular resemblance to European implements. The hill referred to is in fact the projecting extremity of a plateau, which rises about 200 or 250 feet above the sea; this projecting area is of hard quartzite of supposed Devonian age, and is four or five miles long and a mile or mile and a half wide; it is bounded on three sides, either by deep ravines, low-lying land, or the sea; on the remaining side, kloofs have so cut their way down as to shut off all drainage from the interior; we thus have what is practically an isolated table-land, of an area far too limited to have important streams or rivers; consequently the implement-bearing gravels must have been deposited before the area in question was cut off from the inland districts; it is also remarkable that I have not found a single implement referable to the Port Elizabeth group on the lower levels, although those belonging to later periods are not uncommon.

"The third series[1] is also from Port Elizabeth and may perhaps be equivalent to the one from East London. Most of them were found amongst the naturally formed *débris* on the slope of the hill, some 60 or 70 feet above the sea, a few in the main street of Port Elizabeth, and one under hard limestone, covering what is probably an old sea-beach.

"The fourth series[2], that from East London, comes from a spot close to the town which was up to quite recent years

[1] See Plate IV. fig. 2. [2] Plate V.

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covered with drift-sand to a depth of six or eight feet; this has now been removed, so that at present the surface consists of a blackish sandy clay; towards the lower part of this layer, which is from one to three feet thick, the implements are found; lower still it becomes lighter in colour and seems to blend with the decomposing surface of the bed rock; on the opposite side of the river, at about 150 or 200 feet higher elevation than the East London side, the same layer occurs, containing similar implements; here deep kloofs have cut their way back, apparently at a date subsequent to the formation of the black stratum. The wagon traffic has in places cut up this black surface layer to such an extent as to displace the implements, which are therefore to be found in some numbers also on the surface, together with a few Neolithic forms.

"The great majority of this series are simple modifications of ridged and flat flakes[1], and show well-developed bulbs of percussion; a few are similar to those of the Port Elizabeth group; there are also cores, and one or two hammer-stones, a great number of very small flakes and chips of chert, and a series of irregular flakes from quartzite pebbles.

"No organic remains have been found with these implements, and although the remains of animals belonging to the higher orders are absent, yet in a locality so close to the sea one might naturally expect to find a few shells, and their absence almost seems to imply that the black stratum was deposited at a time when the area in question was more remote from the sea-shore than it is at the present day; otherwise the ancient races would have probably left the shells, the tenants of which they had eaten, in almost as great abundance as did the Neolithic men in their kitchen-middens on the same spot.

"In his work on 'Early Man in Britain' Prof. Boyd Dawkins makes some remarks on the distribution of the River-drift and Cave men; on page 232 he states of the river-drift

[1] Plate V.

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men, that 'traces of their presence have been found over the whole of Europe south of Norfolk, through Asia Minor and the whole of India'; and of the cave-man he writes 'he is restricted to the area extending from the Alps and Pyrenees as far north as Derbyshire and Belgium, and has not been as yet found farther east than Poland and Styria.' I think these four series of implements prove that the range of one or both of these ancient races must be extended so as to include the southern parts of Africa."

As Mr Rickard in the foregoing Notes has discussed the distribution of these implements, we may now turn to a comparison of their forms with those of corresponding periods elsewhere.

The general resemblance of the specimens found in Africa to those found in Europe is so striking that it has been possible to refer many of the more noticeable to figures of similar English examples published in Mr Evans's great work on British stone implements, as giving a very accurate idea of their shape[1].

Of the 16 implements exhibited from the Junction, the two long and narrow specimens[2] are longer in proportion than almost any European specimens I know of; the type however is not otherwise dissimilar. There are also four subtriangular and two oval of the ordinary types, but in addition to these there are two somewhat similar in general appearance to ordinary pointed implements, but they have the point replaced by square chisel-ends[3]. A similar implement[4] comes from Port Elizabeth, while from East London we find several flakes similarly brought to a square chisel-end[5]. These, so far as I know, belong to a type of Palaeolithic implements not represented in Great Britain, though quartzite specimens very similar to the rudest of these are found in Madras and Spain, and some almost as rude near Toulouse and elsewhere in the South of France. No

[1] For list, with measurements, see Appendix. [2] Plate I.
[3] Plate I. fig. 1, and Plate II. [4] Plate IV. fig. 1. [5] Plate V.

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flake forms were found in this locality, nor is this strange, the current of the river in the bed of which they were found being so rapid that any flakes washed out of their original bed by it would infallibly be broken up or washed away. A single sub-triangular specimen was found on the Modder river about 20 miles above the Junction.

Of the two localities at Port Elizabeth, one has produced a large number of ordinary types, but amongst them is a single chisel-ended specimen, differing however from those from the Junction in having a less distinctly marked chisel-end, only $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide[1]. There are also several abnormally-shaped specimens, mostly more or less wedge-shaped, one of which appears to have been bruised at the butt by hammering. Two hammer-stones from this locality are also exhibited, one of which is bruised at one end only, the other at both. Flakes are fairly numerous.

From the second locality at Port Elizabeth comes the smaller series marked C in Mr Rickard's classification. This is chiefly composed of flake forms, there being but a very small number of thick pointed implements, while the flakes are more numerous and vary in length from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; one is remarkable, being almost square and having a square chisel-end $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide[2].

All the specimens from Port Elizabeth are of quartzite, with the exception of two short broad flakes of vein quartz in series B. Most of them are much rolled, but a few from each locality are unworn.

The series collected at East London presents an entirely different *facies* from the first three, as there are very few pointed implements (six or eight in all), and these with one exception are very rough; this exception however is a fine implement, differing from the rest both in form and material, being of a flat oval form and made from quartzite. Cores from which flakes have been struck are fairly numerous, but the most striking feature in the series is undoubtedly, as Mr Rickard has pointed out, the abundance of flake-forms made,

[1] Plate IV. fig. 1. [2] Plate IV. fig. 2.

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like the majority of the pointed implements from this locality, of a hard, close-grained sedimentary rock and sometimes ridged (*i.e.* with three faces), sometimes flat (with four faces, two being approximately parallel). This difference has often been noticed in flakes from all parts, but I do not think much stress ought to be laid on it. Although most are pointed, there are a few exceptions presenting the very unusual form of a chisel[1]; in these it will be seen that the cutting edge must have been produced by a blow given perpendicularly to the length of the flake, and before the flake was knocked off its parent core. At this locality, as stated by Mr Rickard, the Neolithic and Palaeolithic implements are sometimes found mixed up on the surface, but the difference in weathering between flakes of the two ages formed from this rock is so marked, that I think no doubt can be felt to which class these ought to be referred. They are formed indifferently from flat and ridged flakes, the longest being 6½ inches long with a cutting edge 1½ inches across; they all have a square end bevelled off to a sharp cutting edge.

There are also a large number of small chert flakes from this locality, from 1 inch to 1½ inches long, which may very probably be of the same age.

The relative abundance of flake forms found at East London as compared with Port Elizabeth, which Mr Rickard suggests may be due to difference in the age of the two series, one representing the River-drift, the other the Cave-Period of Europe, may possibly be equally well accounted for by the fact that at Port Elizabeth the implements were found in a gravel, in the deposition of which the thicker and stronger implements would alone escape destruction. At East London, on the other hand, the earthy bed in which they occur would preserve both indifferently; and wherever both forms occur, the flakes naturally outnumber the implements by an immense majority. At the same time the other explanation is by no means impossible.

A number of pointed implements were also collected in

[1] Plate V.

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various localities in the Diamond fields and between them and the coast[1]. Among them is a beautiful specimen of the somewhat rare thin oval form, with an edge worked on it all round, formed from a black basaltic rock[2]. The rest are of ordinary types.

The success which has followed Mr Rickard, wherever he made a stay sufficiently long to allow him to search for implements, over so wide an extent of country, not very far short of the size of England, comprising an area of about 11,000 square miles, indicates that their distribution is far more general in this region than in Europe. From this fact we may fairly infer that the country must have been either much more thickly populated, or as is more probable, inhabited for a longer time by the races using these tools.

I cannot conclude without thanking Mr Rickard warmly for the readiness with which he put his whole collection at my disposal for exhibition this evening. My best thanks are also due to Mr E. B. Tawney for his kindness in determining the rocks from which the several implements are formed.

[1] Plate VI. [2] Ibid. fig. 1.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plates I. and II. From 'The Junction'; see pp. 59, 62.

Plate III. and Plate IV. fig. 1. From Port Elizabeth (series B); see pp. 59, 62, 63.

Plate IV. fig. 2. From Port Elizabeth (series C); see pp. 60, 63.

Plate V. From East London; see pp. 60, 61, 62, 64.

Plate VI., fig. 1. From near Bullfontein, Diamond fields; see p. 65.

fig. 2. From Pandam Fontein, a few miles south of Du Toit's pan, Diamond fields; made of indurated fine ash; see p. 65.

The specimens figured in Plates I. III. IV. V. and VI. (fig. 2), have been presented by Mr Rickard to the Woodwardian Museum.

Plate II. represents a specimen which he has been kind enough to add to my collection.

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APPENDIX.

The measurements of some of the better implements are here given, with references to figures of similar specimens in Evans's *British Stone Implements.*

N.B. The figures referred to represent with truth only the outline, the difference in fracture making the other details less similar.

	Length.	Breadth.	Thick. (in inches)	Material.	Reference to Evans.	Remarks.
A.	*From the Junction.*					
1	5	3⅛	1½	sandstone	Pl. II, fig. 18	
2	5⅛	3⅛	1⅛	quartz-felsite	,,	
B.	*From Port Elizabeth.*					
1	5¼	2⅜	1⅞	quartzite	Pl. I, fig. 8	point broken
2	3⅞	2½	1⅛	,,	p. 537, fig. 459	but smaller; unworn
3	5½	3⅛	1⅛	,,	p. 489, fig. 420	point broken; small portion of natural surface at butt
4	4⅛	3	1⅛	,,	p. 550, fig. 469	thicker in middle than figure; unworn; edge worked all round
5	3¼	3	1⅛	,,	p. 505, fig. 437	
6	4⅛	3¼	1½	,,	p. 550, fig. 469	resembles (4) but very rough, with a large mass of ironstone gravel cemented on to one side of it
D.	*From East London.*					
1	5	3⅛	1½	hard and fine-grained sedimentary rock.	Pl. II. fig. 18	but rougher
E.	*From various localities between Diamond Fields and East London.*					
1	2⅜	2	⅞	basalt	p. 550, fig. 469	

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VII. Notes on some Neolithic Implements from South Africa, by Mr J. C. Rickard, Cambridge. Communicated by A. F. Griffith, Esq., B.A., Christ's College.

[March 14, 1881.]

[The following notes on some Neolithic implements collected in South Africa by Mr Rickard form a natural sequel to his notes on the Palaeolithic implements from the same district, which I had the pleasure of communicating to the Society in November last. Mr Rickard's classification of this whole series of remains will be found at the commencement of his notes in the preceding paper. A. F. G.]

In many localities of South Africa, in fact, almost everywhere, implements of stone of various forms are to be met with lying exposed on the surface of the soil; it is difficult in many cases even to determine whether they belong to the Palaeolithic or to the Neolithic age; this difficulty is much increased when we attempt to assign any of those which are undoubtedly Neolithic to their particular subdivision of the period. For instance, one cannot with any certainty decide whether a given specimen is the work of the present race of Bushmen, made possibly within the last fifty years, or whether it belongs to any older period included in the vague term prehistoric. Under these circumstances it is better merely to

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arrange such specimens according to the forms which they present, rather than by a process of mere guesswork to attempt any chronological distinctions.

There are, however, good reasons for separating those implements which are found under more definite circumstances, such as those occurring in kitchen-middens, or in caves, or which exhibit a peculiar style of workmanship, and for applying to them distinctive names.

Surface finds. First, as to Neolithic implements found on the surface; these may be divided into knife-like or spear-shaped flakes, scrapers, rubbers, mullers, grindstones or hones, perforated balls, &c. The examples of knife-like and spear-like flakes exhibited, are from East London, Kei river, Queenstown, Stormberg, Burghersdorp, Orange river, Fauresmith, the junction of the Riet and Modder rivers, the Diamond Fields, Boshoff, Richmond, and various localities of the Uitenhage district. One rude implement from Burghersdorp, probably a spear-head, is entirely different from any of the others, and is the only one of that type I have seen.

The scrapers with one end chipped to a semicircular form are from the same localities as the flakes; another kind of scraper formed from a circular disc, brought to a sharp edge all round by secondary chipping, which is all done on one side of the instrument, seems to graduate into a thicker and more core-like form, in which also the base is flat, and the chipping confined to one side. I exhibit English specimens of these three types to shew the great resemblance they bear to the African; this is the more remarkable, as scrapers with their secondary chipping may be considered to be more highly specialized forms than mere flakes.

A triangular scraper from the Orange river—the only South African example I have seen—is of an uncommon type. A small scraper from East London, with a broadly curved

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working edge, is also a scarce form; Mr Jukes Brown figures similar specimens from Egypt[1].

The rubbers were found at East London, Riet river, Modder river, and Port Elizabeth; the hammerstone is from East London, and the grindstone or hone is from the Diamond Fields.

The perforated balls are from the district of Uitenhage, Bethulie on the Orange river, Riet river, and one from about four miles below the junction of the latter river with the Modder. The specimen from Bethulie is made from a natural concretionary nodule, which contains some kind of fossil, probably a coprolite. Two of the balls from the Uitenhage district have flattened sides, and seem as if intended to be mounted on handles and used as clubs or hammers; some flatter or thinner specimens, in which, a hole having been commenced on both sides, the perforation has however not been completed, were probably used as knapping-stones and employed in fabricating various stone instruments. It is pretty certain that some of the perforated balls have been employed as make-weights for digging-sticks, but I cannot believe that they were ever specially made for such a purpose.

The earlier kitchen-midden implements. Under this title are included specimens found in middens near Port Elizabeth. One of these is situated about a mile to the north, and a series of similar middens is met with about three miles to the south of the town; they are on or near the beach, and are about 15 or 20 feet above high-water mark. Shells of Patella, Haliotis, Turbo, Mytilus, Mactra, Donax, &c. form the chief part of the contents; but the large land-shells (Bulimus) occur in considerable numbers; probably however merely as intruders, as they are sometimes to be found present in a living condition; as some of the bones have holes eaten in them, it is

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1877, plate 9, figs. 5 and 12.

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possible that the Bulimi get a supply of lime from them to assist in the formation of their shells. The bones are chiefly those of the larger antelopes, but those of seals, birds, and tortoises are also present, as well as considerable quantities of fish-bones, while remains of domestic animals are, I believe, absent.

The implements found in these middens comprise in addition to the usual flake-forms and rubbers, knife-like instruments with a cutting edge and thick back, precisely similar to a modern one from Australia, figured by Mr Evans[1]. Another type that I have not seen elsewhere, is a scraper formed of a quarter of a flat water-worn pebble; the straight edge is the one used in working; other implements again are very similar to those found in the Danish middens and figured by Sir John Lubbock[2]. A specimen from the north end midden closely resembles in form a Palaeolithic implement, but, as may be seen from a comparison with several examples from a salt-water creek two or three miles distant, is only a natural pebble which has been utilized as an implement.

From this midden I also procured several fragments of a perforated ball; as these balls are very rarely found associated with other implements, an occurrence of this kind is worth recording, as helping to some extent to fix the age of these curious objects. Portions of two pebbles have well-defined grooves cut in them. There is an entire absence of metal in these middens, and even pottery is very scarce.

The later kitchen-midden implements. Middens of an entirely different character are found near the beach at various parts of the coast. One such at East London did not afford any cutting instruments whatever, the only implements of stone being hammers and rubbers; this midden was also largely

[1] *Stone Implements*, p. 264, fig. 198.
[2] *Nat. Hist. Rev.* 1861, p. 499, plate 7, figs. 8 and 9.

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composed of shells, but there were no remains of the larger mammalia, the bones found being mostly those of rodents and fishes, the latter being the more numerous; the absence of larger bones and cutting instruments probably indicates that the tribe by which the materials of the midden were accumulated were in possession of domestic animals and tools of metal; the pottery is ornamented with indented lines and dots, arranged in several patterns.

At a little distance from the midden just described are the remains of several smaller mounds, probably of about the same age. From one of these I got a neatly-worked scraper 2⅝ inches long, one edge chipped on both sides, the other left unworked and probably at one time imbedded in a handle which has preserved its original sharpness. I also found another flake, and part of a ball of coarse limestone shewing the commencement of a perforation on both sides; except as regards size and material this ball is of a similar character to the larger examples, and it seems ridiculous to suppose that it could have been intended to have added to the efficiency of a digging-stick. In another of these small mounds I found five rough flakes and a core, associated with fragments of bone of a large animal, probably hippopotamus.

Relics of a similar kind are to be found also at Port Elizabeth, where on the site of what seems to have been an old encampment I found numerous rubbers, a hammer-stone, a mealing-stone, and two rough flakes, associated with ornamented pottery. There is no midden actually on the spot, but within half a mile is a group of eleven small shell-mounds, which may have been formed by the inhabitants of this camp; ten of these mounds are arranged in a semicircle; the eleventh and largest is placed in a position facing its concavity. In addition to shells these mounds only yielded pieces of pottery, a few bones, irregular nodules of white quartz, and a pebble battered at one end; I was not however able to search them thoroughly.

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With this series I have placed two fragments of iron ore, one found at Port Elizabeth, the other at East London, both shewing surfaces worn by friction. The rubbers may have been used in grinding this material as well as corn, as it is evident from the bruised appearance of many of them that they were employed on some hard substance; it is possible that one end was used in breaking it into small fragments, which were afterwards ground to powder by the smooth end of the instrument.

Bushman caves and rock-shelters. I have very little material that can confidently be said to be of Bushman origin, and although perhaps it will eventually be necessary to associate Bushman relics with one or more of the other groups, it is best at present to keep them apart. The deposits already alluded to have not yet supplied us with any of those drawings for which bushmen are celebrated, neither have any objects been found in them which could fairly be described as corresponding to the well-formed arrow-heads of Europe; this is also true of surface finds, and I am surprised that though the present bushmen are well acquainted with the use of the bow, neither my collection obtained from 40 or 50 different localities, nor that of Mr G. McKay, of East London, contains a single example of such an arrow-head. Dr Dale[1] has certainly described certain implements from the Cape Flats, East London, and other places, as arrow-heads; but with the exception probably of the Cape Flats specimens, I believe he has made an error in so doing; his East London and Panmure specimens were collected by Mr McKay, and as that gentleman is an intimate friend of mine, I may safely say that he does not believe that arrow-heads have been found in those localities; perhaps their rarity may be accounted for on the supposition that the bow is a comparatively recent acquisition of the bushmen, which may have superseded the

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1871—2, p. 347.

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perforated balls for hunting or warlike purposes, and led to these latter being utilized in connexion with the digging-stick.

Lance-heads of the Cape Flats. Another very distinct kind of implement (unrepresented in my collection) is found on the Cape Flats, and so far as I can learn, in no other part of Africa; these are carefully-worked lance-heads, of the same type as an English specimen from Icklingham, which I shew to illustrate their form; the South African Museum possesses specimens much more regularly worked even than this; Mr E. L. Layard[1] exhibited twenty-one examples to the Ethnological Society; Mr Evans also has several, and I am indebted to him for a reference to two figured by Sir John Lubbock[2]. These lance-heads are found associated, according to Dr Dale[3], with arrow-heads, flakes, scrapers, sling-stones, corn-crushers, and pottery. But their chief interest arises from their apparent isolation on a comparatively small tract of country at the southern extremity of Africa: this fact, added to the superior workmanship of the specimens, induces me to keep them apart from the other series which have been already noticed.

I have never met with a true celt in South Africa, but an instrument sent to England by Dr Dale, was described as a polished celt by Mr G. Busk[4]. Mr Winwood Reade discovered small celts near Accra in West Africa, which were described and figured by Sir John Lubbock[5].

We see then that the various subdivisions of the South African Neolithic period (leaving out of account the surface-finds) may be provisionally arranged as follows:—

Early Kitchen-midden period,
Cape Flats period,

[1] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. I. p. xcviii. (Appendix).
[2] *Ibid.* Vol. I. plate 1, figs. 1 and 2 (Appendix).
[3] *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 347.
[4] *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 346.
[5] *Ibid.* Vol. I. plate 2, figs. 1—5 (Appendix).

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Bushman period,
Late Kitchen-midden period.

But it is probable that the so-called Bushman period will have to be amalgamated with one of the others.

In conclusion I would like to record the existence of considerable accumulations of mussel shells in the neighbourhood of East London, which might be mistaken for old middens, but I have been informed that they owe their existence to the Kaffirs having been compelled to use mussels in large quantities as food during the "starvation time" of 1856–7.

Note.

While putting together these notes I happened to see in the volume of the Anthropological Institute's *Journal* to which reference has already been made, figures of the hut-dwellings on Dartmoor. They at once called to mind some remains at Bethulie on the Orange river, which, although I believe they are modern, are nevertheless of some interest. My attention was attracted to them chiefly because the foundations of the huts (which were of small size) were oval in plan, and formed of two concentric rows of stones set on edge, the intervening space and interstices of the stones being filled and plastered up with sandy clay. The walls thus formed were about 18 in. in height, and 12 to 18 in. in thickness; the superstructure of all the huts had entirely disappeared; on one side of the entrance to some of them was a space about 18 in. in diameter paved with small pieces of stone set on edge; while near the huts were several heaps of ashes, in which were agates and other stones which had been used in obtaining fire; strewn about the settlement was a quantity of broken pottery, stones hollowed for corn-mills and some of the mullers used in connexion with them, and several grindstones or hones. Close by and adjoining each other were numerous small enclosures with stone walls about four feet high, in which they had kept their live-stock; they differed from ordinary kraals in being of very small size, as well as in being rectangular in plan.

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VIII. On two unpublished Christian Gem-types. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[November 14, 1881.]

So limited is the variety of gem-types emanating from early Christianity (a circumstance due first to the Judaical prejudices of the primitive converts, and afterwards to the almost total decay of the art coincident with the triumph of our religion) that the discovery of anything novel among such relics will be received with equal pleasure and surprise by the student of Christian antiquities. "Those that cut and carve seals" are reckoned amongst the trades "without which a city cannot be inhabited" (i.e. necessarily to be found in every inhabited town) by the author of Ecclesiasticus[1], most probably a resident at Alexandria; and that great emporium continued down to the Arabian conquest the last home of the expiring glyptic art, and the source (as I have noticed on previous occasions[2]) whence memorials of the kind are still furnished to collectors. From that quarter also were recently (1881) brought the two gems to be described in this communication; which were soon afterwards added by that zealous amateur, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, to his already extensive and curious series of similar memorials of the early Church. Their types, besides their novelty (for

[1] Ecclus. xxxviii. 27.

[2] See No. I. of the present volume of Communications.

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nothing resembling them can be found amongst the specimens of the same class hitherto published), have other claims to our attention; the one, in the unusual elegance of the design and in the perfection of its workmanship; the other, in the singularity of its type, that suggests many interesting thoughts connected with its origin and intention, which it is the object of the following remarks to trace out and illustrate.

I.

The first gem (fig. 1), lapis-lazuli of the purest and brightest sort, is oval in form, with surface slightly convex. It is engraved with a woman amply draped on one knee in prayer, and holding up on high with both hands a Latin cross, at which she gazes fervently. Behind her appears a great palm-branch (or perhaps the tree of life) filling up that side of the field, and distinctly setting forth the faith of the SECUNDA, whose

FIG. 1.

name runs partly round in large and rudely-cut lettering. The intaglio itself is carefully finished, the figure is well drawn, the drapery arranged with elegance; much attention has even been bestowed upon the head and features, the part of the composition always the first to fail in the works of the Decline. The whole work is not only an exception to the general mediocrity of its class, but would not disgrace an artist of a much better period than that of the Lower Empire. According to the almost invariable rule in the case of signets, the *inscribed name* can only designate the *owner:* otherwise we

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should be tempted to see in the lady some virgin-martyr of the first ages, whose portrait was chosen for her seal-device by some later devotee claiming her for patron-saint. *Secunda* was so common a name in antiquity, by reason of the good omen it contained, that it would be rash to assign it to a daughter of the *Secundus*, brother-in-law of the emperor Anastasius, and Consul A.D. 511; to whose exalted rank the extraordinary beauty and the high value of the *sapphirus* might tempt the enthusiastic collector to assign its first ownership[1].

But the peculiarity of this gem which most demands consideration, is the *cross* so conspicuously elevated in the hands of the kneeling damsel. This can be explained in very different ways. Does she hold it up merely as a badge of her religion; or have we here a very early instance of the "Adoration of the Cross" itself? As a visible proclamation of the faith of the bearer, the 'sign of the Cross' may be traced back to the first days of Roman Christianity; of which fact no more convincing proof can be adduced than the action of Constantine upon the conquest of Rome. In the words of Eusebius[2], "By a great inscription, and by monuments, he proclaimed unto all men that *this* is the sign of salvation: having in the centre of the imperial city set up *this* as a grand trophy over his enemies; engraving in indelible characters this sign of salvation, a protection for the supremacy of the Romans, and for the whole empire. For he at once commanded them to place a tall spear, in the shape of a *cross* in the hand of his own likeness, erected as a statue in the most public place of Rome; and to engrave beneath it this inscription in the language of the

[1] Epiphanius says of the Sapphirus, there are several kinds, as the "*Royal*," spotted with gold; but that sort is not so much esteemed as the pure blue (*On the Twelve Gems of the Rationale*, chap. v.). The signet of the Emperor Phocas is cut in lapis-lazuli.

[2] *Vita Constantini*, cap. XL.

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Romans: 'Through this saving sign, the true test of Virtue, I have delivered your city, and rescued it from the yoke of tyrants; and moreover I have liberated, and restored the Senate and people of Rome to their pristine dignity and splendour.'" The nature of this representation (perhaps a copy of the actual statue) is preserved upon the *solidus* of Valentinian III. (see fig. 5, p. 82) and upon those of many of his successors, in which the spear in the emperor's hand, transfixing the prostrate enemy, terminates above in a Latin Cross. Could we be certain that the remarkable adjunct lately discovered upon a unique denarius (fig. 2) of Gallienus (emp. 253—268 A.D.) was intended in the same sense, that capricious prince might claim the glory of having anticipated Constantine in such a manifestation.

FIG. 2.

The type of this denarius of Gallienus is a standing figure, holding out a *patera* as if pouring a libation, and resting his left hand upon a tall sceptre (or *hasta pura*) which terminates at the top in a well-defined *cross*. The legend reads APOLLINI PAL(*atino*); in exergue SPQR. It is evident at first sight that the figure is not an Apollo, but the emperor himself in the character

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of that god, and in the action (extending the *patera*) of the far-famed statue in the Daphne at Antioch, known to us by the Monody of Libanius upon its destruction, and pictorially by that pretty little coin of Julian's inscribed APOLLONI ANTIOCHENO. There can be little doubt that the legend upon the coin under discussion, read by the light of the figure which accompanies it (perhaps a copy of an actual statue erected at the time of its mintage), was a piece of flattery to Gallienus. This emperor, in all but cowardice, resembled (or imitated) Nero as much in mind as he did in face: he was in fact a masculine copy of the sixth Cæsar. Like him he professed himself a rival of the God of Day, usurping his figure here, and appearing in public with his hair sprinkled with gold-dust to imitate his luminosity. As Nero raised the Colossus of the Sun-god in his own likeness, so we find his follower endeavouring to eclipse him, by erecting a new Colossus twice as large as that effort of imperial extravagance, previously regarded as beyond all competition. Nero struck coins (yet extant) with his own figure *citharoedico habitu* (as Suetonius has related), and is immortalized on gems with the adjunct of a lyre, as the living incarnation of the god of song. It is only to be expected that Gallienus should have followed him here also; gratifying his vanity upon the point where it was most susceptible, namely, his literary fame. Trebellius records his proficiency in poetry, oratory, and in fact "in all the arts", and quotes three lines of his composition (an impromptu)[1] so fervent, so spirited, as to make us deplore the total loss of the rest, which would, if equal to the sample, have made a splendid addition to the scanty list of the "Works of Royal and Noble Authors." Highly interesting from this point of view as the coin-type before us may be, I fear that what gives it its principal value, the Christian implication of the staff

[1] Ite, agite, o pueri, pariter sudate medullis
omnibus inter vos; non murmura vestra columbae,
brachia non hederae, non vincant oscula conchae.

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held in the left hand of the figure, is not altogether secure from impugnment. There has, but lately, come to my knowledge a Campanian vase-painting of the "Rape of Cassandra", in which the statue of Pallas carries an inverted spear, with its butt-end similarly finishing in a *cross:* and it may be urged that whatever reason existed for its introduction in the hand of the Virgin Goddess, will dispense us here also from the necessity of interpreting it as a symbol of the new religion. On the other hand, those who refuse to see in this cross a mere meaningless appendage to the emperor's staff, may urge his famous edict granting protection to the Christians, and the medal struck in honour of his so greatly beloved empress, Salonina, reading AVGVSTA IN PACE; for which every other interpretation is more forced than that which takes it in the Christian sense, as an equivalent for the Pagan CONSECRATIO.

Gallienus is recorded to have been fond of practical jokes[1], and seems certainly to have extended this propensity to his mintage, which alone presents us with more insoluble problems than the entire imperial series put together. This, therefore, would (if its reality be conceded) be the very first appearance of a Christian symbol upon a coin: for the monogram composed of X P lately found in the *legend* of a Greek[2] medallion of Trajanus Decius, has no better claim to such an origin than when it occurs on the coins of the Ptolemies, simply indicating the mint-master. Besides, as Lactantius ascribes the *invention* of the *Chrisma* to a special revelation from the Saviour himself to Constantine, it follows that the form, as used in that special sense, was unknown before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge.

[1] "Lavabant simul cum principe, admittebantur saepe etiam mulieres, cum ipso pulchrae puellae, cum illis aniculae deformes, et jocari se dicebat cum orbem terrarum undique perdidisset." (Treb. Pollio, *Gallienus*, cap. 18.)

[2] Described in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1273 b, plate 1, no. 2.

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The Cross, treated as the principal object on a coin-reverse, makes its first appearance, and with much elegance, upon a *solidus* (fig. 3) of the pious Galla Placidia (A.D. 421), where it is upheld by an angel (or Victory) standing at the side. Soon afterwards the Cross banishes all other types from the

FIG. 3. D(*omina*) N(*ostra*) GALLA • PLACIDIA • P(*ia*) F(*elix*) AVG(*usta*).
Rev. VOT(*is*)[1] XX MVLT(*is*) XXX R(*a*)V(*ennae*).

reverse of the *solidus*, until Justinian II (A.D. 695) replaces it by a well-executed bust of Christ; but it is unnecessary to pursue the history of the symbol so far beyond the limits prescribed to us by the workmanship of our gem.

II.

The other gem (fig. 4, see next page) as far excels this in curiosity and interest of subject, as it falls short of it in beauty of workmanship and in quality of material. It is also considerably larger; of like shape, but an inferior and darker stone. There is some effect in the drawing of the group, but its execution does not rise above the barbarism of even the better sort of gnostic stones belonging to the fourth century; but in novelty of idea, and ingenious adaptation of an ancient type, it far surpasses anything of its species that has hitherto come to light. A young man, in the simple tunic of a shepherd, agreeing with the primitive representation of the "Pastor Bonus," appears bruising with

[1] These vows refer to the reign of Theodosius II.; the coin is figured to the actual size.

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his staff, tipped with the sacred monogram instead of iron, the head of the Old Serpent; whose bust indeed is human, but body that of a crocodile, the belly hideously swollen, and the back garnished with a row of spikes, or similar protuberances,

Fig. 4.

to make its aspect yet more terrific, whilst the snaky tail, upon which the victor firmly plants one foot (as does Hercules on the Hydra's in the tetradrachm of Phaistos), goes curling up into the field behind him, and terminates as a barbed arrow-head.

The human-headed Serpent, as typifying the Evil One, first makes his appearance upon the *solidus* (fig. 5) of Valen-

Fig. 5.

tinian III. (A.D. 420—435) where the orthodox Augustus is seen "bruising its head with his heel;" the conception therefore is of early date, so that its introduction does in no way invalidate the antiquity of the gem under consideration. As a coin-type it was, probably, intended by triumphant Christianity for a degradation of the Agathodaemon Serpent, that special

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FIG. 6. MARCUS AURELIUS AND FAUSTINA JUNIOR AS AGATHODAEMONES.
Contemporary Bronze, drawn to the actual size.

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favourite in the theology of Roman Egypt, which frequently represents it as furnished with the head of Serapis or, by an ingenious piece of flattery, of the reigning emperor (see fig. 6 on p. 83). But the head given by the artist to the Evil One of our gem is manifestly *youthful;* and proves that he was guided in its drawing by the Rabbinical tradition of the shape assumed by Eve's Tempter:

"a cherub's face, a reptile all the rest."

The *Dragon*, in the same acceptation, that forms the handle to certain Christian lamps (see fig. 7) more than usually elaborate in design, exhibits similarly to this intaglio a back horrent with spikes, like that of the actual iguana; although, in this case, they are due only to the artist's imagination, as the ancients could hardly be acquainted with anything of the lizard family armed with such formidable appendages. On the other hand, our mediæval and heraldic Dragon was produced simply enough, by equipping the crocodile with wings, in order to add the gift of speed to the native invulnerability of the monster. The transition is clearly exemplified in a bas-relief of the Louvre collection[1], which exhibits Horus (Aroeris) in Roman armour, mounted on a richly-caparisoned war horse (as the Cæsars of the Lower Empire so frequently appear on their coins), and transfixing with his lance the Typhonian crocodile, that most ancient emblem of the Evil Principle. Were it not for the *hawk's head*, that Horus retains in this monument of his fast expiring worship, the group would pass without question for our St George and the Dragon: and it is generally agreed that the patron saint of England was brought back from Alexandria by the returning Crusaders.

The mention of the Arian persecutor recalls to memory that in his well-deserved punishment by popular vengeance

[1] Figured in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1876, p. 197.

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Fig. 7. Antique bronze lamp found at Syracuse in 1870: the cruciform sword, surmounted by a Dove, stabs the monster's head, and indicates that the Dragon's death is the Light of the World.

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was involved a minor bigot, Dracontius, master of the mint at Alexandria, who had provoked his fate by overthrowing an altar erected there upon the accession of Julian. And again, as the signet device often expressed symbolically the name of its owner (as Symmachus tells us of his own), it is not impossible that our gem may have been engraved for some one of the same name with the unlucky *monetarius*, when his religion was again in the ascendant. And before quitting the subject of *Dragons*, I must add, though apparently straying very far away from my text, that the far-famed Dragon of the Celestial Empire is in its origin, *however* fantastically metamorphosed, a true crocodile; introduced with all the other gems of Chinese art by the Buddhist missionaries from Bactria. No intelligent archaeologist who compares the sculptured, and more especially the glyptic, works so abundant in Northern India with the Chinese treatment of similar objects will fail to detect the source whence their inspiration was drawn.

Amongst the shower of "hard names" which that "whining monk," Gregory Nazianzen, pours upon his old university friend, Julian, in the "invective" preached upon the first intelligence of the emperor's death, figures that of "Dragon." This, however, refers to the Apocalyptic Portent, and forms the climax to a string of comparisons to Sihon, Og, and all the other tyrants who had vexed the chosen people.

The "*draco*" of the Romans was a large crested snake, much resembling the hooded cobra di capello in shape, but not venomous, first introduced from Asia as a sacred animal, but which had, in Pliny's days, multiplied to a prodigious extent at Rome: one of the species had been the congenial pet of the emperor Tiberius, "erat ei in oblectamentis serpens draco," as Suetonius[1] puts on record. Soon after this, the *draco* became a military ensign, carried by a '*draconarius*,' and makes its appearance amongst the other standards upon

[1] Tib. 72.

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the triumphal bas-reliefs. This ensign was of a very singular nature, being a hollow tube made of silk, very accurately figuring the sacred serpent, which the wind entering by the gaping mouth distended as it hung from the pole: hence Prudentius[1]:

"Proque *ventosis* draconum quos gerebant palliis
Praeferunt insigne lignum quod draconem subdidit."

The figure was, probably, chosen for a military banner on account of its talismanic power, and as acting as an *Agatho-daemon* in the literal sense of the word.

In the same connexion we may consider another talisman of wondrous efficacy, which survived by many centuries the religion that gave it birth. This is the *Chnuphis* (Kneph); the serpent with lion's head, whence spring *seven* rays (often tipped with the *seven* Greek vowels, which shroud the "ineffable name" from profane eyes); the Sigil which King Nechepsos (as Galen[2] tells us) prescribed to be cut on the *Jaspis* (green or yellow

Fig. 8.

calcedony), and to be worn as a preservative of the chest and lungs. The old physician remarks that this was a common practice in his own days; but that *he* had found by experiment that the gem, by its natural virtues, was equally efficacious without the sigil. Prodigious numbers of these Cnuphis-gems are still preserved; their manufacture evidently extending

[1] *Peristephanon*, l. 35.
[2] *De temperamentis simplicium medicamentorum*, Lib. ix.

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many centuries beyond Galen's time. One of the most remarkable is in the collection of Mr Lewis, being engraved on a spheroid (fig. 8) of true jade, a mineral which is often said to have been unknown to the ancients. The veneration paid to this curious figure (originally a solar emblem) seems in some way connected with the history of the Elevation of the Brasen Serpent in the Wilderness. At all events, there must have been a very ancient tradition to that effect, for an enamel plaque of the 12th or 13th century, in the possession of Mr Octavius Morgan, representing that scene, displays the Chnuphis, exactly copied from the gem, elevated upon a cross, in different places through the camp.

The Gnostic talisman, figured below to the actual size (fig. 9),

Fig. 9.

deserves a paragraph to itself from the richness of its symbolism, the excellence of the workmanship, and its exceptional magnitude. It is a red jasper of the finest quality, and came from Bombay, through the means of M. Feuardent, into the possession of the present owner. The plane face exhibits the Chnuphis serpent, with radiated head, erected in the midst of a choir of the sacred animals of Egypt, arranged in triplets—beetles, geese, asps, crocodiles, and calves. On the convex face

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we have the regular type of the Abraxas-god, flourishing his whip to scare away evil spirits, and protruding his shield as symbol of protection. The inscription ЄVO has been read as Syriac for "The Serpent": the others have not been previously observed in this connexion, and offer a problem to the ingenuity of Semitic scholars. The union of Chnuphis with Abraxas is a novelty, the former having almost invariably for reverse (as on the jade already quoted) the triple S on a bar—probably representing the serpent-twined wand of the priesthood.

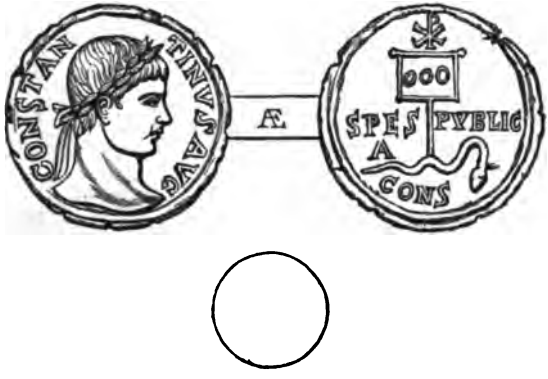

Fig. 10.

The earliest record that can be found of the *pictorial* representation of the Evil One, in the shape of a serpent, is that by Eusebius[1]. "Moreover he [Constantine] set up a picture over the grand entrance of the Palace, displaying the Cross, that life-giving symbol, placed above his own head; whilst below him the adversary and enemy of mankind, who through the agency of impious tyrants had vexed the Church of Christ, was being cast down headlong in the figure of a *serpent*. For the divine oracles, in the books of the Prophets, have called him a *dragon* and a fuming serpent." We may still see the same idea embodied on that invaluable little coin (fig. 10) of the younger

[1] *Vita Constantini*, III. 3.

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Constantine, which shows the serpent transfixed by the spear of the *labarum*, the "Trophy of the Cross," as Eusebius aptly terms it, with the explanatory legend SPES PUBLICA.

It is full time now to return to the symbolism of the gem, the proper subject of these remarks. Instead of the actual serpent of Constantine's painting, the Fiend is made to recall the classical figure of the Hydra. If there be any truth in the general opinion that Maximian intended, when he put on his coins a Hercules slaying the Hydra (as well as Jove throwing his bolts at the Titans), to commemorate his own efforts for the extirpation of Christianity, the adaptation of the type by our engraver was literally a "turning of his own cannon upon the enemy." The *aureus* of Maximian (fig. 11) preserves to us the latest representation of the Hydra produced by ancient

FIG. 11.

art. It is a coin of singular beauty, and considering the lateness of the period, a perfect miracle of workmanship. But the masterly treatment of the group, and still more the compactness (so evidently aimed at in its composition) with which Hercules is shown lifting the monster from the ground by one of its many necks, whilst it clings tenaciously to his body with its snaky folds, prove unmistakeably that the die-sinker had in view some bronze of the same subject coming down from the best

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period of Grecian art. It is instructive to compare this, the latest, with the very earliest representation of this "Labour" on the coin of Phaistos alluded to on page 82; in which the looser arrangement of the figures, and the pictorial effect, which is so evidently kept in view (a most unusual thing in Greek coinage), equally declare that its engraver drew his inspiration from some celebrated *painting* of his times: a circumstance which critics have already noticed with respect to another fine production of the Cretan school, the Europa seated in a tree upon a coin of Gnossos.

To trace the Hydra down to its final extinction as a type; it may be added that the Byzantines combined it with the Gorgon (that most ancient of amulets, even put up by the Cyclops on the citadel of Argos) by surrounding her head with *seven* asps radiating from it round about. Gems and brass tesserae thus engraved are extant in abundance. The reverse always bears a legend in barbarous phonetic Greek to this effect[1]: "Black, blackened Fate [or other evil] thou creepest like a serpent, thou roarest like a lion, thou shalt lie down like a little lamb." The most perfect specimen known to me is that figured by Chiflet[2]; the most curious, as being undoubtedly a Gothic work, is the so-called seal of St Servatius[3], still preserved in Maestricht Cathedral. It is a large circular disk of green jasper, bearing on one side a rude bust of a saint, on the other the Hydra-Gorgon, with the regular inscription, but so disfigured by the ignorant copyist that only a word here and there can be recognised.

[The illustrations throughout this Communication are from antique originals in the cabinet of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.]

[1] ΥCΤΕΡΑ ΜΕΛΑΝΗ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΜΕΝΗ ΟC ΟΦΙC ΗΛΗCΕ Κ, ΟC ΛΕΟΝΒΡΥΧΑCΕ ΚΕ ΟC ΑΡΝΙΟΝ ΚΥΜΟΥ. The Υ takes the place of ΟΙ as early as A.D. 842, in the title of *Theodora Despuna*.

[2] "Macarii Apistapistus," No. 70 of the plate.

[3] *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 112.

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IX. On the Measurements and Valuations of the Domesday of Cambridgeshire. Communicated by the Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

[November 28, 1881.]

In the winter session at the end of A.D. 1083 King William laid a tax of 72 pence on every hide of land in the kingdom, in order to raise forces to oppose the threatened invasion of Canute of Denmark. This tax was collected in A.D. 1084, and was levied, without doubt, according to the assessment for a Danegeld made in A.D. 1013. But the changes due to mere operation of time, aggravated by the devastation of the Danish wars and the mischief caused by the numerous revolts against the Conqueror's rule, had deranged the accuracy of the rating; and the levying of the Danegeld in A.D. 1084 caused deep and well-founded discontent. To ascertain the actual resources of the realm, with a view, most probably, to readjustment of taxation, the famous Commissioners were sent into the country, which seems to have been divided amongst them into nine circuits. According to Eyton, whose opinion is supported by other authorities, the circuits were as follows:

Circuit I. Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Berkshire:
„ II. Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devonshire, Cornwall:
„ III. Middlesex, Herts, Bucks:

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Circuit IV. Gloucestershire with part of Monmouth, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and part of Wales:

„ V. Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire:

„ VI. Northamptonshire with one-third of Rutland, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire:

„ VII. Staffordshire, Shropshire with part of Wales, Cheshire with part of Wales, South Lancashire:

„ VIII. Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire with two-thirds of Rutlandshire, Yorkshire with Amurderness or Mid-Lancashire, North Lancashire (i.e. Furness with part of Westmoreland), Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire:

„ IX. Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk.

Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire therefore constituted the smallest circuit, and it may be because the Commissioners in this narrow district had an abundance of time for their task, that these two counties are surveyed with an amount of detail only exceeded in the returns for Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk. In the three counties last named the Clerks of the Exchequer appear not to have condensed the original reports, as they did generally; whilst in Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire they seem to have abridged the returns of the travelling Commissioners, but to have had before them returns of unusual completeness. That in all parts of England the primary survey contained a much greater amount of detail than we now find in the Book of Winton[1], is proved by the existence of the *Inquisitio Eliensis*[2],

[1] *Liber de Wintonia* seems to have been the technical title in early times of the book now known as Domesday: and the last-mentioned name comes into use in the twelfth century. The *Dialogus de Scaccario* speaks of it as *Liber Judiciarius*. But as to this see Freeman's *Norm. Conq.* Vol. 5, App. A.

[2] Only two copies of the *Inquisitio Eliensis* are known to exist. The one in the British Museum was given to Sir Robert Cotton by Arthur Agard, whose well-known paper "On the Dimensions of Lands in England" —(to which I shall make frequent reference,)—bears date Nov. 24, 1599.

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the Exon Domesday and the Boldon Book, all transcripts of the original papers, made *verbatim* by those interested in the tenure of particular districts or holdings. The *Inquisitio Eliensis* is useful in testing, and sometimes in completing, certain entries contained in our Cambridgeshire Record, those, namely, of the possessions of the Abbey of Ely, in behalf whereof this copy seems to have been taken about the time of Henry II. The *Inquisitio*, like the Exon Domesday and the Record of the three East Anglian Counties, gives particulars as to the store-cattle, sheep, pigs and horses in each manor or holding, in addition to those statistics as to hidage, carucage, cultivators and profitable incidents set down in the Great Exchequer Book.

Bearing in mind the occasion of the Survey, we are prepared to find a Statement of the Hidage on which the tax of A.D. 1084 was levied, and an estimate of the actual value of every holding; but, besides, we find many other important and interesting particulars, as the hidage in demesne, when there was any, the quantity of land under the plough, the number of teams, and (in the original notes of the Commissioners,) the number too of the animals not used for draught; also the number of cultivating tenants, slave, serf or free[1]. Each entry concludes with the *valet*, or estimate of income; and in addition we usually find two other valuations set down, viz. the worth of the land when the then tenant entered on it (*Quando recepit*, Q. R.), and the worth in the time of the Confessor (*Tempore Regis Edwardi*, T. R. E.). All these valuations are far from being proportionate to the Hidage; and this I think we should expect, first, because of the prevalence of exemption or favourable hidation (a point to which I shall recur), secondly, because

[1] I must dissent from the opinion of Archdeacon Hale, that tenants are not enumerated in these lists when they paid money rents only, and rendered no agricultural services; as I also cannot agree with his notion that the *valet* comprises *only* the pecuniary renders of these non-working tenants. I shall discuss these points later on.

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of the depressed condition of England when Ethelred first levied the Danegeld of A.D. 1013

The following table shows the state of the case as regards Cambridgeshire. Against each Hundred I have placed the number of Hides, the Domesday value, and the value T. R. E., omitting only the valuation Q. R.:

Hundred.	Number of Hides.	Domesday Value.			Value T.R.E.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Chesterton	117½	76	9	4	90	0	0
Cheveley	29	94	8	4	86	0	0
Chilford	54½	124	13	3	113	8	11
Ely	80½	173	7	0	197	3	0
Erningford	100	203	8	4	235	0	4
Flendish	46	79	12	8	69	2	8
North Stow	108	87	1	0	135	18	0
Papworth	95½	85	12	4	110	18	8
Radfield	69½	105	17	8	101	7	8
Staine[1]	54	112	13	4	88	0	0
Staplehow	87½	240	9	0	204	13	4
Stow	96	129	10	6	173	12	6
Triplow[2]	87	119	10	0	130	15	0
Wetherley	77½	149	13	0	160	5	4
Whittlesford	80½	88	12	4	106	5	8

I will now proceed to make some observations upon various points which an examination of the Domesday survey has suggested to me; and these I propose to arrange under the following eight heads[3]:

[1] In the number of hides I have allowed 8 for Great Wilbraham, where the number is omitted.

[2] Here, in giving 87 hides, allowance is made for 2½ hides + 9 ac. set down *twice*, and 1½ hides +6 ac. set down *three* times in Shelford.

[3] It has been found impossible to print intelligibly on ordinary pages the tables which contain my exact analysis of the whole contents of the survey, so far as Cambridgeshire is concerned. They have therefore been printed in a separate fasciculus.

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I. On Hides and their Size.
II. On Caruca and Terra ad Carucam.
III. On Domesday Acres.
IV. On Bovates.
V. On Hidation.
VI. On the Domesday Valuation (*valet*) of Manors and Holdings.
VII. On the Population of the County.
VIII. On the Minor Incidents of Value.

I. *On Hides and their Size.*

On few points has greater difference of opinion prevailed than on the number of acres intended by a *Hide* in the Domesday Book, and on the relation of the *Carucate*, *Virgate* and *Bovate* to the Hide. Ellis in his "Introduction to Domesday" quotes the most contradictory statements on these topics, and himself arrives at no definite conclusion, except that a *Virgate*, or Yardland, was the fourth part of a Hide; and that in many parts of England *Carucata* was a synonym of Hide, both being something distinct from Ploughland, or *Terra ad unam carucam*. With the first conclusion of Ellis, I think, the Cambridge Domesday is entirely in accord. As to the second, *Carucata* is a local designation of the Hide, in Lincolnshire preeminently, also in Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Nottingham and Rutland. Leicestershire might be added, as the *Hide*, in the few places where it is mentioned in the Domesday of the County, has reference to Saxon measurement, and the Norman estimate is in *Carucates*[1].

[1] See the Tables at the commencement of Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*.

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Walter Whittlesey, quoted by Kennet, says, "in provincia Lincolniæ non sunt hidæ, sicut in aliis provinciis, sed pro hidis sunt carucatæ terrarum, et non minus valent quam hidæ." And Knighton also says: "de qualibet hida, id est carucata terræ."

Taking then these two points for granted, we find the authorities quoted by Ellis upholding one or another of three views:

(1) that the Hide was about 240 modern acres,

(2) that the Hide was 100 or 120 acres (*centum*),

(3) that the Hide was a variable quantity, a mere measure of assessment, viz. that amount of soil which, according to its fertility, the proportion of its land under plough or in enclosures to its pasture, woodland and waste, and its supply of working cattle and cultivating serfs, was considered proper to be rated for six shillings Norman[1] in the report of Domesday, "about this land, how it was set," made in A.D. 1086.

Kemble's view is altogether different. He says that the Hide of Domesday was 40 Norman acres, or 33⅓ Saxon (one or other of these acres being our modern acre), and that the Hide was arable land only: the latter being, according to almost all other writers, an erroneous assumption, at any rate in reference to the Norman Survey. He supports his numerical estimate mainly by reference to the Hidage of various parts of England,

[1] Nichols in his *History of Leicestershire* (copying Hutchins on Dorsetshire, and both of them following Webb, *On Danegeld*), says that *Libra* in Domesday = 12 oz. = 72 *solidi*, = £3. 12. 0 of modern money *in weight*. Kelham says *Libra* = £3. 2. 0, possibly a misprint for £3. 12. 0. *Solidus*, according to all of them, = 12 pence, or *in weight*, 3 modern shillings. Hume, *Hist.* I. 103, says the Saxon silver penny was three times as heavy as it is now, that 5 pence made a Saxon shilling, and 48 shillings a pound, which therefore was equivalent to 60 shillings of modern money.

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given by Beda[1], and by quotation of two lists of the Hides in certain counties, found in the Cotton MSS. These lists relate to a much earlier period than the Conquest, are to a great extent contradictory, and, as far as I have had opportunity of testing them, the Hidage of each and all is inconsistent with the Domesday Hidage; showing that a Hide, as Beda and his contemporaries understood it, had nothing but its name in common with the Hide of Ethelred or the Conqueror. Kemble seems to have scarcely inspected the Great Domesday (*Liber de Wintonia*), but he makes an isolated quotation from the Exon Domesday, in support of his contention that a Hide is 40 acres. Eyton, however, taking a different reading of the figures in this entry, deduces that a Hide is 48 acres: and this he says is correct, because the Inquisitors of Dorset calculated in *Gheld Acres* (of which more hereafter), each containing 5 statute

[1] See Kemble's *Saxons in England*, pp. 101—110 and App. B.

Beda says

The Isle of Wight contained		1200	hides, and its acreage is			86,810.
Thanet	„	600	„	„	„	26,500.
Kent	„	15,000	„	„	„	972,240.
Sussex	„	7000	„	„	„	907,920.
East Anglia	„	300,000	and Norfolk and Suffolk contain			2,241,060 acres.
Essex	„	7000	„	and its acreage is		979,000.

These are Kemble's figures; and the other documents which he quotes are:

I. Cotton MS. Claud. B. VII (fol. 204, b.), which appears to have been written in the time of Henry III.,

Wiltescyre	4800 hydæ.	Herefordscyre ...	1500 hydæ.
Bedefordscyre.....	1200 „	Warewycscyre ...	1200 „
Cantebrigescyre ...	2500 „	Oxenefordscyre ...	2400 „
Huntedunescyre..	850 „	Salopescyre	2300 „
Northamptescyre..	3200 „	Cesterscyre	1300 „
Gloucesterscyre ...	2400 „	Staffordescyre.....	500 „
Wirecesterscyre ...	1200 „		

II. Cotton MS. Vesp. A (fol. 112, b.), written in the reign of Edward I.

Bedfordshire	1000 hydæ.	Worcestershire ...	1500 hydæ.
Northamptonshire	4200 „	Shropshire	2400 „
Gloucestershire ...	2000 „	Cheshire	1200 „

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acres[1]. Whether 40 or 48 be correct, we must, at any rate, agree with Eyton that the acres are of Gheld measurement.

Hence, this proof of Kemble's fails, and his lengthy tabulation of acreages on p. 106 of his *Saxons in England* is of little value, first, because he assumes that he may take the modern acreage of a manor as identical with its acreage in Saxon times, and secondly, because the extracts from the *Codex Diplomaticus*, on which his table is based, refer to a period anterior to the imposition of Danegeld, ("antequam Anglia hidata fuit" in Agard's words), when "hide" may have meant, as Kemble says it did, the allotment competent to maintain a household, but certainly did not mean what it denoted in Ethelred's assessment. These ancient hides were very likely identical with the *mansæ* of the towns mentioned in Domesday. (See Stubbs' *Constit. Hist.* vol. I. p. 74, note. Robertson's *Historical Essays*, pp. 88—102.)

To return, then, to the other three views. In support of the first, that the Hide was 240 acres, we have mention in a Register Book of Ely, quoted first by Agard, and afterwards by Ellis, that at Leverington the Yardland, or quarter-hide (for such hereafter it will be proved the Virgate was), contained 60 acres. We have also the facts that in Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Shropshire, and Lincolnshire, the number of Hides, as tabulated by Eyton and others whom he quotes, gives (when divided into the known acreage of the counties,) the result of an average

[1] Kemble says (App. B. p. 490): "in the Exeter Domesday fol. 48 we find 10 hides of land to be made up of the following parcels, 4 hides +1 virgate +6 agri +5½ hides +4 agri," and adds that therefore $10\,h = 9\frac{1}{2}\,h + v + 10\,a$: whence he deduces, as $h = 4\,v$, $v = 10\,a$, and $h = 40\,a$.

Eyton reads 8 *agri*, where Kemble reads 6 *agri*; although it must be confessed that the MS. seems in favour of Kemble. But the entries in the Exon Domesday are not very accurate generally; and particularly inaccurate in the page from which the quotation is taken. In the very next entry, for instance, we have mention of a Manor of 5 hides, but made up of 3 hides +8 acres in demesne and 2 hides −12 acres held by villains, a manifest error of 4 Gheld acres = 20 statute acres, on one side or other of the equation.

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of 240⅜ acres for a hide in Dorset, 250 in Somerset, 244 in Ketsteven, the only portion of Lincolnshire where the condition of the county in Norman times was comparable with the modern state of things, and a little over 240 acres in Shropshire.

In Sussex, again, Horsefield says, there were 3480 hides according to Domesday; and the County now contains 934,006 acres, giving 268 acres to the Hide; but allowing for marsh and waste ground, 240 here also is a fair approximation. In Leicestershire the Hides, by Nichols's calculation, are 2105, and the acreage 514,164, making the Hide about 245. But we must admit that in Wiltshire, the Hides, calculated as Eyton calculates them for Dorset and Somerset, are 4632 (see Wyndham's *Domesday of Wilts*), and the acreage is 867,792, making the hide 187 acres.

In support of the second view, we have a statement in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, probably taken from the *Liber Niger* of Henry II, that a Hide is equivalent to a hundred acres, or to 120 (for *centum* in ancient documents frequently means *six* score[1]), also an assertion in a Malmesbury MS., referred to by Agard, Spelman and Ellis, that a virgate = 24 acres, and that a Hide = 4 virgates, making the Hide 96 acres. We have further in the same Register Book of Ely, which puts the Yardland, or quarter Hide, in Leverington at 60 acres, a statement that it measured 30 acres at Fenton, and 32 acres at Tyd St Giles, the Hide therefore being 120 or 128 acres in those localities. Kennet in his *Glossary*, quoting from Agard, speaks of Hides, or Carucates, of 112 acres and 150 acres (*temp. Ed. III.*) at Burcester and Middleton in Oxfordshire. He also mentions a charter of

[1] Agard quotes a curious note: "entred in an ancient Record in the Treasury, before a Declaration made of Knights' Fees belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln: nota, quod carucata terræ continet in se C acras: et VIII bovatæ faciunt carucatam; et quælibet bovata continet XV acras." Also "from the Black Book, in cap. penultimo lib. I, hida a primitiva institutione ex centum agris consistit, which in mine opinion is six score acres." See also Elton, *On the Tenures of Kent*, p. 126.

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9 Richard I where one hundred (120) acres are assigned to the Carucate; but against this must be set his mention of a Carucate of 60 acres in another record of the same reign. The explanation probably is that in the last instance he is quoting an account of the *carucata operabilis*, or portion of land actually taken out of fallow in any year, in a three-shift manor, where 60 acres were reploughed and 60 freshly broken up each year.

C. G. Smith in his *Domesday of Lincolnshire* says: "the hide of land and the carucate of land are estimated to contain 120 acres each." Marsh very strenuously maintains that a Hide was 120 acres, in the Glossary prefixed to his "*Domesday of Essex*," and quotes some very convincing passages. In Bishop Hatfield's Survey, *circa* A.D. 1360, we have carucates of 120 acres at Halghton, and carucates of 8 bovates (each bovate = 20 ac.) at Rykenhall: but in the 14th century the "carucate" was fast losing its original signification, and assuming a new meaning, to which I shall presently refer.

Selden hovers between the two views already exemplified, holding that "the hide was 240 acres till the reign of Richard I, and then was reduced to 100"; but, as will be shown immediately, he does not adhere to this opinion, or to either of these opinions, consistently. We have, perhaps, the most cogent proof of all, a matter of record, in the *Placita apud Cantabrigiam*, 18 *Ed. I.* (which is quoted by Agard and Ellis): "dicunt quod sunt in Hokington (a village in Cambridgeshire, now called by the vulgar Oakington) XII hidae terrae, quarum quaelibet hida continet in se sexies viginti acras terrae." But observe that "continet" may imply that the 120 acres of arable were *part* of it, and not the whole.

It is also worth noticing that in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, where a Hide is generally denoted by the abbreviation *h*, and rarely by *hid.*, there are two entries where instead of *h*, we find written *hund.*, viz. in the accounts of the Abbot of Ely's holdings in Wratting, "III hund.," and Melbourne, "de his VIII hund."

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These may, of course, be mere blunders of the scribe, but it seems more probable that he considered the Hide to contain a hundred, i.e. sixscore, acres of arable land.

For the third view, that a Hide is not a matter of acreage at all, we have Selden's maturer opinion, that "the Hide was ever of an uncertain value," and we have besides the fact established by Eyton's careful examination of Dorset areas, that in various manors of that county the Hide ranged from 4,000 to 84 acres, the average, however, being, as already said, about 240. Wyndham, in his *Wiltshire Domesday*, makes "no scruple to define Hida as an uncertain portion of land, that might annually be worth twenty Norman shillings."

Amid these conflicting views can nothing definite be established?

Keeping all three in view, I have carefully analysed the Domesday of Cambridgeshire: and the conclusion to which I am led is that they *can* be harmonized, for that each is, in its own sense, correct. The Domesday Hide varied, I believe, enormously in extent; but still, in districts cultivated according to the ordinary fashion of the time, contained on a rough average 240 acres; about 120 of them, or in some manors 80[1],

[1] In the Hundred Rolls we have mention of Hides or Carucatæ of 120 acres, or virgates of 30 acres, in Cottenham, Westwick, Hokington, Girton, Elsworth, Papworth Agnes, Bourne, Harston, Triplow, Foulmire, Barton, Barrington, Grantchester, Haslingfield, Harlton, Orwell, Shepreth, Hinxton, Sawston, Whittlesford, &c.: and of Hides of 80 acres in Cottenham, Teversham, Fulbourne, Conington, Swavesey, Balsham, Swaffham, Isleham, Hardwick, Bourne, possibly Gamlingay, and Barrington. Larger hides or carucates of 160 acres are found in Barrington, Orwell, Wimpole. It will be noted that in some vills there are hides of different sizes: this is explained by such vills containing two or more manors, cultivated on different systems, two-field or three-field, as shown hereafter.

The proof that a virgate was one quarter of a Hide, depending on the connection of the number of acres in each of them, is purposely postponed till the subject of "Norman acres" is discussed, to avoid an inconvenient digression.

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being under the plough each year, 60 or 80 more, according to the system of the cultivation in the manor, lying in fallow, and the residue consisting of open meadow, pasture or waste, or occasionally wood; the Hide being sometimes smaller than usual when there was an extra amount of ploughland in it, and invariably of extra size when wood or marsh was one of its components. In Saxon times we find mention of Hides or Cassatæ of twelve score acres[1], and Hides of six score acres[2]; but we do not find any clear distinction drawn between the two; and it would seem that they were but designations of *the same* Hide; the full Hide, "plena hida in terra, in campo, in silva" (*Lib. Eliens.* p. 140) being spoken of as a Hide of 240 acres, and the Hide in which the plough-land and enclosures alone were exactly measured, and where the *appendiciæ* were "thrown in," so to speak, i. e. *implied*, but not included in the acreage, being called the Hide of 120 acres. When the measurement was that of an entire manor, not intermixed as to its arable land, pasture and wood with another manor, it could be taken in either measure, according to the local custom; but in intermixed manors[3], and in manors where sub-infeudation had begun, the measure must of necessity have been taken according to the smaller standard, *i.e.* that of 120 or 80 acres; for in such manors the only quantity admitting of reckoning "by metes and bounds" would be what was held in severalty;

[1] See *Liber Eliensis*, pp. 132, 145, 147, 149. Stewart's Edition.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 150.

[3] These intermixed manors, where the arable land, though separate in property, lay in the open fields in alternate strips (*seliones*), were known in Saxon times. The *Liber Eliensis* mentions a case of the sort in the Manors of Newton and Hawkston long prior to the Conquest: "acra sub acra posita." Subinfeudation multiplied this intermixture; for instance in the gifts to the Abbey of Denney by Henry Picot and his son Aubrey, about A.D. 1150, there are specified (1) "VI acras in villa de Beche (Waterbeach), duobus in quolibet campo"; (2) "IX acras terræ, tres in quolibet campo." See the quotation of the original grants in Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.* pp. 1552, 1553.

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the pasture &c. not being divisible, but enjoyed in common proportionately to the arable holdings[1].

Hence, it is equally true, looking at local discrepancies, to say, with Selden, that "the Hide was ever variable;" or, having regard to the average of England, that the full Hide was, either by measurement or estimate, some 240 acres; or that it was usually about 120 measured acres (or less, very commonly only 80), with necessary, but unmeasured appendages.

In Cambridgeshire (excluding the Isle of Ely, which in Norman times would be mainly marsh, so that its present acreage can have little relation to its eleventh century hidation), we find 1102¼ Hides set down in Domesday, and the area of the manors specified is now 296,331 acres: for the modern and ancient county are seen at once to have been conterminous[2]. Hence, the average Hide of Cambridgeshire would seem to be 269 acres: but if we bear in mind that now much land exists, as in Soham, Cottenham, Waterbeach, &c. which was under

[1] There is a very interesting dissertation on the nature of common-rights in Marshall's *Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, Vol. I. ch. 5, London, 1788. Marshall's conclusion is that these rights attached by common law to arable land, rather than to dwelling-houses. See also the same view maintained by the late Joshua Williams, whose opinion is always most valuable, in Appendix C to his standard work *On Real Property*.

[2] Lysons, in his *History of Cambridgeshire*, says that the following parishes are not accounted for in Domesday: Bartlow, Brinkley, Coton, Eltisley, Mepal, Leverington, the two Newtons, Outwell, Tidd, Upwell. Outwell and Upwell are for the most part of their area *out* of Cambridgeshire. Leverington, Mepal, Newton in the Isle, and Tidd very probably were then under water. Eltisley *is* mentioned, under the name of Hecteslai. *Bercheham* of Domesday appears to be Bartlow, or Barham, a hamlet of Linton. Brinkley alone, outside the Isle, cannot be traced: but may like Coton and the other Newton be counted with another manor: for as to Newton, the *Liber Eliensis* tells us: "de Newetun terra procul dubio pertinet at Havekestun (Hawkston), acra sub acra posita;" and Coton was parcel of Grantchester, as we see from an entry in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii* of Henry II, where as part of the Honour of Bologne is mentioned: "de Geodo Gaufridi de Fercles Granteset cum quodam pertinente in Cotes."

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water all the year round in A.D. 1086, and therefore would not be reckoned by the Commissioners, we may fairly accept 240 acres as the average Hide of Cambridge, as it was of Dorset, Somerset, Shropshire, Ketsteven, Sussex and Leicestershire.

If, however, we take separately each Hundred of the County, we find most remarkable differences in the average of the Hide, obtained by dividing the Domesday Hidage in each case into the modern acreage. The results are as follows:

Hundred.	Modern Acreage.	Hides in 1086.	Acres to the Hide.	
Chesterton	15847	117½	135	
Cheveley	12905	29	445	
Chilford	21984	54½	403	
Erningford	29641	100	296	
Flendish	11786	46	256	
North Stow	20572	108	190	
Papworth	26089	95¼	275	
Radfield	24008	69½	345	
Staine	18917	54	350	
Staplehow	40752	87½	466	
Stow	26269	96	274	
Triplow	16475	87	189	
Wetherley	19144	77½	247	
Whittlesford	11942	80½	148	
	296331	1102¼	269	average.
Isle of Ely	233248	80½	2898	average.

The conclusion to be drawn is that holdings were more valuable per acre, because containing an excessive proportion of land under plough and in enclosure, in such Hundreds as Chesterton, Whittlesford, Triplow and North Stow, than in Cheveley, Chilford, Staine and Radfield, where the country was mainly woodland, or in Staplehow, or still more in the Isle of Ely, where marsh and mere prevailed. The acreage per Hide in the Isle of Ely is even greater than in the Lincolnshire provinces of Lindsay and Hoyland; in the former of

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which it was a little more than 500 acres, and in the latter about 1000[1].

In many of the Cambridgeshire Hundreds the Hides closely approximate to the normal Hide of 240 acres: and in these we may conclude that the distribution of the various kinds of land was a fair sample of England generally, and these, therefore, will furnish the best examples of average rental and the like.

II. *On Caruca and Terra ad Carucam.*

In the Domesday of Cambridgeshire, as already noted, Carucates are never mentioned as synonymous with Hides; but the abbreviation *Car.*, so frequently recurring, denotes either the land which one team could cultivate, *Terra ad carucam*, or the team itself of eight oxen and the plough they drew, *Caruca*[2].

In passing I may remark that in counties where Carucata is used as another name for Hide, it designates sometimes an ungeldable Hide, *i. e.* one exempted from Danegeld; or sometimes is a Hide newly formed out of land previously ungeldable: or, on the borders of Wales, is land newly conquered, and therefore for the first time liable to taxation. In Lincolnshire, on the contrary, it is but the ordinary Hide, geldable or ungeldable. With *carucata*, however, in this sense, we have

[1] In Staffordshire the hides were very large, nearly 1500 acres on the average, if we divide the number of them into the modern acreage: but this is to be accounted for by the immense quantity of woodland, and of land thrown out of cultivation by Norman ravages. The same explanation would apply, no doubt, to the Northern Counties; but in these the record is so vague that a calculation of the acres to a Hide is all but impossible. See Eyton on the Domesday of Shropshire.

[2] That *caruca* does not mean the eight oxen only, but the oxen *and* the plough, seems evident from such entries as:

"Non sunt ibi nisi boves:" Croydon, Erningford Hundred:
"Sex boves ibi sunt, 1 caruca potest fieri:" Hochintone, Northstow Hundred.

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nothing to do, when looking merely at the Cambridgeshire Domesday.

Terra ad carucam or *ad unam carucam* is simply the arable component of the Hide; amounting, as already said, usually to 120 acres, not unfrequently to 80 only, and perhaps sometimes to a little more than 120; but 80 is almost certainly its minimum. Agard's statement that a ploughland was sixty acres has been already commented on; and explained, I hope satisfactorily, to refer to the newly broken-up land, and not to all the land under the plough: and I think Marsh in his *Essex Domesday* has made a mistake in considering Agard to fix sixty acres as the *general* amount of *terra ad carucam*. Agard quotes only this one mention of 60 acres, and several of 120 for the *terra ad carucam*. Eyton[1] says: "Domesday nowhere expresses directly the acreage of a plough-gang; but in a few instances it is clear that it did not exceed, and probably equalled 120 measured acres." H. P. Wyndham[2] also writes: "The measure of a Carucata" (he means *terra ad carucam*) "differs considerably, not only in different counties, but even in the different parts of the same county. In some parishes it is no more than 100 acres, while in others it may be 140. I shall, therefore, take it upon an average at 120." And C. G. Smith speaks to the same effect in his *Introduction to the Domesday of Lincolnshire*, p. xxvii.

I have already mentioned some of the evidences from the Hundred Rolls, where the Hide and the *terra ad carucam* seem to be identical (the adjuncts of commonage being understood, but not expressed), showing the one and the other to be as a rule either 120 or 80 acres. To these I may now add some further estimates, obtained by comparing the total area stated either in the Domesday Book or Hundred Rolls for Cambridgeshire with the minute record of holdings of

[1] *On the Dorset Domesday*, p. 23.
[2] *On the Wiltshire Domesday*, p. viii.

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sub-tenants in the latter; and I will end with some confirmatory indications from the Domesday, standing alone. Alberic de Ver, ancestor of the Earls of Oxford, had in Great and Little Abington 11½ hides according to Domesday; the Earls of Oxford still held the whole of these manors in A.D. 1279, and their arable land was 1074½ acres: so that the hide was a little over 90 acres. In Fulbourn the Earl of Richmond had 2½ hides in 1086; his successor 200 acres in 1279; or hides of 80 acres. The same value for the hide, i.e. the *terra ad carucam*, is found in Fulbourn, where the lands of John Fitz-Waleran (6 hides) had passed to Bigot of Norfolk (480 acres). In Burwell the hide is similarly made out to be 131 acres, but seems to consist of crofts and tofts as well as plough-land, so being probably 120 acres of plough-land. In Bourne the Abbot of Ramsey's Domesday Hide is represented in the Hundred Rolls by 77 acres; and in Cottenham in A.D. 1279 we have a hide held under Robert de l'Isle, described as 45½ acres in demesne and 34½ acres held by tenants: whilst the Rector's manor of 2 hides has 78 acres held by himself and 77½ by his tenants. In Stow 2 virgates, i. e. (as will be hereafter shown) half a hide, contain 63½ acres. There is a virgate mentioned in Hawkston in A.D. 1279 of 24 acres; one in Shepreth of 36 acres.

And now to pass to Domesday itself, without seeking further corroboration in the Hundred Rolls or elsewhere. In Pampisford, Chilford Hundred, we have mention of a total holding of 10 acres with one bovate of arable land, and nothing more specified: this, as eight oxen went to the team, denotes 80 acres to the *terra ad carucam*. There is a similar entry in Kingston, Stow Hundred; another in Hardwick, Stow Hundred. In Hokington, North Stow Hundred, 15 acres with 1 bovate and no adjuncts; 40 acres with 4 bovates in Isleham, Staplehow Hundred: 80 acres with one *terra ad carucam* in Balsham, Radfield Hundred. Other instances could be

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mentioned: but these seem enough to show, what is now being alleged, that the *terra ad carucam* was 80 or 120 acres usually, seldom more than the latter number, never appreciably less than the former.

Here it seems proper to remark that *terra* in Domesday occasionally means land generally; but more often arable land only. In the latter sense it is, I think, used, when *small* plots of land, such as those just referred to, are assigned to tenants, and described merely as so many acres, and not as Hides or Virgates or fractions thereof. To these sometimes, perhaps usually, rights of commonage were annexed as a matter of course, unless the grant was express to the contrary, and of these restricted grants the above-named holdings seem examples. But more often land and commonage went together, so that a right to land, not restrained by covenant, implied also a right to a due proportion of feeding on the common land of the manor.

A very important question now arises, not perhaps as to these smaller holdings, which sometimes were merely of arable land, but as to the entire manors, or large grants out of them; whether the *terra ad carucam* denotes the land which *from time to time* was ploughed, or the land actually ploughed in any *single year*. I believe it to mean the latter[1]; and that consequently the difference of *terra ad carucam* of 80 acres

[1] Since this paper was read to the Society, I have met with a remark of Benj. Williams Esq. in the *Archæologia*, Vol. 33, p. 278, which confirms this view. He writes: "at present (in the Manor of Aston and Cote in Oxfordshire.) the system of agriculture is the four-course,—wheat, beans, oats and fallow: but two centuries ago, the three-year course was followed, with fallow every third year. It is important to remark that this circumstance affected the number of acres which were allotted to the hide in different shires," (I should say in smaller districts,) "for in all inquests *post mortem* no value was returned for the portion of the hide that lay in fallow (*ad warectum*), and we may fairly presume that the like rule obtained in public contributions to the king." He adds: "thus Mr Horde values '22 acres in Holiwell Field at 10/- per annum, 2 years sowed in 3, comes to pr. annm. but £8.'"

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or 120 acres distinguishes the manors under a two-fold course of cultivation, one crop and then a fallow, from the manors under threefold course, *i. e.* two crops and then a fallow[1]. In the two-course manors, taking the hide at 240 acres as an average, but not forgetting how much it varied, there would be 80 acres under plough, *i.e.* the *terra ad carucam;* 80 of arable land, but laid in fallow; 80, more or less, of sheepwalk, pasture and wood, never broken up: whilst in the three-course manor there would be 60 acres bearing a second corn-crop, 60 just brought into cultivation from fallow, these two being the *terra ad carucam;* together with 60 arable, but laid for the year in fallow; and 60, more or less, never cultivated, and only used for pasturage. On this hypothesis we can explain the new force of the term *Carucata*, as used by Fleta, who speaks of carucates of 160 acres, and carucates of 180 acres, expressing thereby the Plantagenet view of "arable land," as land arable *in its due course*, whether used or not in any particular year; i.e. the Domesday *terra ad carucam* of 80 acres or 120 acres, together with the "idle shift;" which in the one kind of manors would be another 80 acres, and in the other kind an extra 60 acres. This new application of "carucate" or "*terra ad carucam*" exhibits itself in the Hundred Rolls, where we have, for instance, mention in Stow of a carucate of 160 acres, 2 of these carucates going with 2 hides; and in Comberton of John le Merk's holding, wherein the items amount to 23 half virgates of 15 acres + 16 acres in small plots, and are set at 2 carucates, so that the carucate is as nearly as possible 180 acres. The *virgate*

[1] See Fleta II. 72 *De officio communis senescalli.*

Item certificetur in primo adventu suo de custagiis carucarum in quocumque manerio, quæ sciri poterunt per hanc rationem, ut terræ sint tripartitæ, tunc nonies viginti acræ faciunt carucatam, eo quod lx in hyeme, lx in quadragesima, et lx in æstate pro warecto debent exarari.

De terris vero bipartitis debent ad carucam octies viginti acræ computari, ut medietas pro warecto habeatur; et medietas alia in hyeme et quadragesima seminetur, et proinde de numero carucarum de facili poterit certiorari.

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too, which etymologically merely means a *quarter*, was in the Hundred Rolls sometimes a quarter of a Carucate (in the new sense), rather than a quarter of a Hide, and so we account for the mention of virgates of 40 acres (in two-shift manors) at Barrington, Orwell and Wimpole.

An objection may be made to this theory on the ground that, if Fleta's 'carucate' be taken to mean the amount which a team of eight oxen could keep in cultivation (and that I certainly contend it does), then, as a team in a two-course manor could only work 80 acres each year, or keep 160 in constant cultivation, therefore a similar team in a three-course manor would be overworked, if they had to plough 120 acres each year, as they would have to do to keep 180 in constant cultivation. The reply is that land freshly broken up out of fallow required ploughing *twice*, whilst land cropped one year in wheat and the next in barley required only one ploughing for the second crop, and was in a much more workable condition than the other. The ploughing out of fallow in the summer (*ad warectum*) would be twice as hard work as the second ploughing of the same land about Martinmas (*ad hibernagium*), and twice as hard as ploughing wheat stubble in preparation for a barley crop (*ad tramesium*), in the early spring. Thus, the work done by the oxen in ploughing an acre being represented by x, the one team would in the year do work equivalent to

$$2x \,.\, 80 \text{ (}ad\ warectum\text{)} + x \,.\, 80 \text{ (}ad\ hibernagium\text{)} = 240x,$$

and the other

$$2x \,.\, 60 \text{ (}ad\ warectum\text{)} + x \,.\, 60 \text{ (}ad\ hibernagium\text{)} + x \,.\, 60 \text{ (}ad\ tramesium\text{)} = 240x,$$

identically the same; granting the assumption (I think a fair one), that ploughing out of dead fallow is twice as hard as ploughing land already once ploughed or quite lately cleared of a crop.

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III. *On Domesday Acres.*

It is, next, necessary to consider whether the acres of the Cambridgeshire Domesday are the same as our modern acres or different. It is well known that there was in Norman times what was called a *Gheld Acre*, twelve of which made a virgate, and therefore 48 a hide, assuming for the present that a virgate is a quarter hide. The acre, however, ordinarily used was the present statute acre of 160 square poles; though in Kent, at any rate, the linear pole was only 16 feet instead of $16\frac{1}{2}$ as at present. But possibly this was only a local variation, and the ancient acre seems to have been practically the same as our modern acre. If the Hide be, as suggested, 240 statute acres, the Gheld acre would be 5 statute acres. In the South Western counties the Gheld acre was often the unit, and Eyton (*On the Domesday of Dorset*, p. 15), advances the opinion that it was employed when measuring an entire manor, whilst small allotments were set down in the Domesday in statute acres. In Cambridgeshire it is sometimes difficult to settle which kind of acre is intended, but on the whole it would appear that the Juries of the several Hundreds (whose names are recorded in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*) were consistent in using only one measurement throughout their returns, but that some of them used the one and some the other. And it would also seem that the Juries where Hides were extensive in area used the Gheld measure, possibly to simplify their numbers; whilst the Juries of the Hundreds with small hides used statute acres, to avoid fractions.

On reference to my lists of holdings, which accompany this essay, it will be observed that in three Hundreds, Erningford, Flendish and Whittlesford, acres are not mentioned at all,

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and that in Papworth the two entries where they occur are inconclusive. But in Stow Hundred there are one or two entries which must relate to ordinary acres. We have, for instance, in Hardwick land containing 3 hides + a virgate + 12 acres; but, if Gheld acres had been meant, 12 are a virgate, and the entry would have been 3 hides, 2 virgates, or more simply 3½ hides. In Caldecote too, in the same Hundred, the virgate + 20 acres of David would be a strange entry, if in Gheld measure, the 20 acres being much larger than the virgate. So, again, in Triplow Hundred 9 hides + 24 acres, would be 9½ hides, unless the acres were of statute kind. In Staine Hundred ½ hide + 30 acres must also be in statute measure: and it is curious that in this Hundred, where the hides are so large, the measurement should not be Gheld; but possibly much land was then permanently flooded and not measured, and therefore the hides would be smaller than we have concluded by comparison of the hidage with the modern acreage.

There is no need to multiply instances: in Staplehow Hundred, at Isleham (Gisleham) there is a pretty clear proof of a measurement in Gheld acres; and so also at March, 16 acres, which contain half a carucate of arable land, must be Gheld. The conclusion, then, seems to be that statute measurement was employed throughout the county, even for the Manors, except in the four Hundreds of Chilford, Radfield, Cheveley and Staplehow, where marsh and wood were prevalent, and the hides consequently extensive: and in the Isle of Ely for a like reason.

It has already been shown pretty fully, I hope, that the hides of Cambridgeshire were from 80 to 120 acres in area both in A.D. 1086 and A.D. 1279. The proof may be completed by reference to twenty-seven entries in our Domesday; where, by comparison of the land held by a Norman and specified in one sum, with the separate holdings of the Saxons to whose

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rights he had succeeded, we can see either the number of virgates to a hide, or the number of acres to a hide. These entries are numbered (1) to (27) in the Table on the next page. The first 14 of them obviously accord with the hypothesis of the hide being 4 virgates. Those numbered (15), (16) and (17) are as evidently set down erroneously, whatever be the relation of the hide to the virgate. In (16) a hide seems to have been omitted in one of the Saxon amounts: and in (15) and (17) there are clearly clerical blunders. Perhaps (18) is an approximation; for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides are only half a virgate in excess of 1 hide + $9\frac{1}{2}$ virgates. In Comberton the entry (19) is an approximation, but in the entry (20) 4 virgates seem to be too far off a hide-less-twenty-acres to be correct, and yet a virgate in several parishes round Comberton was equal to 20 acres, according to the Hundred Rolls, and in Comberton itself we learn from the same authority that a hide was 100 acres, *i. e.* five score. Therefore the Domesday entry appears curiously to prove itself right, there being some local custom of 5 instead of 4 virgates to the hide. Entry (21) is clearly another approximation. Thus there seems a large preponderance of proof that 4 virgates made a hide almost everywhere in Cambridgeshire, the exceptional case at Comberton being explained by the supposition that 5 virgates of some old Saxon standard were equal to a Norman hide, but had been each the fourth part of a Saxon hide. See Kemble, *Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. App. B. p. 493.

The entries (22) to (27) enable us to compare hides or virgates with acres. The hide clearly = 120 acres in (22) and again in (26) and (27); and in (23) it is 128 acres. In entry (24) the hide appears to be rather small, viz. 98 acres; if we suppose the acres on either side of the equation to be statute acres: but it has already been suggested that in Radfield Hundred the Norman Jury used Gheld measure, occasionally at any rate: and so, rewriting the entry into statute acres only, 46 statute acres = $\frac{1}{2}$ hide less 15 statute acres, or the hide is 122

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Table illustrating the Extent of a Hide in Cambridgeshire.

	Vill.	Hundred.	Saxon holdings.	Norman holdings.
(1)	Horseheath	Chilford	$1\frac{1}{2}v+\frac{1}{2}v$	$\frac{1}{2}h$
(2)	Croydon	Erningford	$h+h+5v$	$3h+v$
(3)	Litlington	„	$\frac{1}{2}h+\frac{1}{2}v$	$2\frac{1}{2}v$
(4)	Impington	North Stow	$(h+v)+(2h+v)$	$3\frac{1}{2}h$
(5)	Milton	„	$(6h+3v)+(4h+2\frac{1}{2}v)+2\frac{1}{2}v$	$12h$
(6)	Landbeach	„	$(2h+3v)+2h+h+v$	$6h$
(7)	Over	Papworth	$\frac{1}{2}h+3v+h$	$2h+v$
(8)	Swaffham	Staine	$3v+(h+v)+(h+v)$	$3h+v$
(9)	Trumpington	Triplow	$(h+3v)+v$	$2h$
(10)	Hawkston	„	$3v+3v$	$1\frac{1}{2}h$
(11)	Duxford	Whittlesford	$7v+3\frac{1}{2}h+\frac{1}{2}h$	$5h+3v$
(12)	Whitwell	Erningford	$5v+\frac{1}{2}h+v$	$2h$
(13)	Hochinton	North Stow	$(\frac{1}{2}h+9a)+(h+3v)+(1\frac{1}{2}h+10a)$	$(3h+v+10a)+(\frac{1}{2}h+9a)$
(14)	Dry Drayton	Chesterton	$(2h-\frac{1}{2}v)+1\frac{1}{2}h+(h+\frac{1}{2}v)+(h+v)$	$5h+3v$
(15)	Meldreth	Erningford	$2\frac{1}{2}h+(2h+\frac{1}{2}v)+\frac{3}{4}v$	$5h+1\frac{3}{4}v$
(16)	Eversden	Stow	$(h+3v)+3v+h+(1\frac{1}{2}h+10a)$	$6h+10a$
(17)	Barrington	Wetherley	$(4h+1\frac{1}{2}v)+(2h+\frac{1}{2}v)+h+3v+\frac{1}{2}v$	$7h+2\frac{1}{2}v$
(18)	Morden	Erningford	$(h+3v)+3v+3v+\frac{1}{2}v$	$3\frac{1}{2}h$
(19)	Comberton	Wetherley	$(h+v)+3v$	$2h+2a$
(20)	„	„	$v+1\frac{1}{2}v+1\frac{1}{2}v$	$h-20a$
(21)	Waterbeach	North Stow	$(3v+12a)+3v$	$1\frac{1}{2}h+10a$
(22)	Shelford	Triplow	$(2\frac{1}{2}h+9a)+(1\frac{1}{2}h+6a)+\frac{1}{2}h+\frac{1}{2}h+(v+7a)+3\frac{1}{2}v$	$6h+v+7a$
(23)	Kingston	Stow	$(2h+1\frac{1}{2}v)+v+3v+v+2h$	$5\frac{1}{2}h+16a$
(24)	Carleton	Radfield	$38a+8a$	$\frac{1}{2}h-3a$
(25)	Hochinton	North Stow	$15a$ in Domesday replaced by 1 *virg.* in *Inq. Eliens.*	
(26)	Hatley	Stow	The total holding is one hide, of which the Lord has $3v+10a$ in demesne and 3 bordars have $20a$.	
(27)	Hillrow	Ely	The total holding is two hides, of which there is in demesne $h+v+10a$ and the villeins have $80a$.	

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statute acres. Entry (25) is in itself inconclusive, but I mention it because the *Inquisitio Eliensis* gives the same holding as "1 virgate:" a mistake of the scribe, fortunately most easy to correct, for we not only have in Hockington 15 acres with 1 bovate in Domesday itself; or by consequence a hide of 120 acres; but the valuable Record of 18 *Edw. I*, quoted above on p. 10, shows that the inference of the hide being 120 acres there is a certain fact. This instance may serve as an useful hint to take the Domesday figures in preference to those of the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, when there is a discrepancy. The *Inquisitio*, I believe by comparison with the Domesday to be wrong in 14 discordant entries; the Domesday being in all of them consistent with itself, and the *Inquisitio* frequently not.

IV. *On Bovates.*

We never find bovates mentioned in Domesday except in reference to the purely arable land, whereas virgate is a subdivision of the hide in any of its senses. On all hands it is admitted that a bovate was the eighth part of a carucate in the Conqueror's time: though in later times teams were not so universally made up with eight oxen, and we have bovates of very varying sizes in the year 1641, as witness Best's *Farming Book*, p. 166, &c. So also, as Ellis states in his Introduction, a bovate at Doncaster was only 8 acres—presumably therefore had at least ten oxen to the team; though as a rule 16 or 17 acres was the amount of a bovate in Yorkshire, with the carucate therefore considerably over 120 acres; as is proved by a Record, *Trin.* 26 *Edw. I. Ebor. de Banco.*

There is, perhaps, one isolated indication in the Cambridgeshire Domesday of teams of more than eight oxen in the Conqueror's time, viz. in Barrington, Wetherley Hundred, where we find mention of 40 acres with 6 bovates arable, and 20 acres with 3 bovates arable. I should take this to mean 40 acres in

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cultivation, six oxen doing the work. According to the Hundred Rolls the virgate at Barrington was 40 acres; which indicates that they measured not by hides, of land actually under plough, but by carucates, made up as to one half of land under the plough, and as to the other of arable land lying in fallow. The Domesday mentions meadow attached to both the holdings above named; and this too is confirmed by the Hundred Rolls, where a so-called half-virgate, which should be 20 acres, is found to have 22 acres + 5 rods, the 2 acres possibly being the meadow, and the 5 rods the homestead and croft.

V. *On Hidation.*

The Hidation of the Domesday Book, as already mentioned, is that of Ethelred's reign, and doubtless represented, when it was made, the intrinsic value of the majority of English Manors. By testing the few instances in Cambridgeshire where the hidage and the carucage are alike in Domesday, we are led to suppose that a normal hide, i. e. one having *terra ad unam carucam* exactly, neither more nor less, and furnished with proper adjuncts of pasture, &c., was valued at £1 revenue. Munford in his *Domesday of Norfolk*, gives a list of the acreage and value of the glebe lands in that county, as stated in Domesday, and it is remarkable how often the estimate is exactly one penny per acre, or £1 per hide of 240 acres. Eyton, on p. 46 of his *Domesday of Somerset*, twice quotes purely arable land as worth two pence per acre, and once as worth $2\frac{2}{3}$d. Pasture he puts at $\frac{2}{15}$d. per acre.

But some Manors would be assessed from the very first beyond their acreage, because of being advantageously placed for commerce, or because they were the seats of the lucrative Hundred Courts, or exempt from Hundred jurisdiction and having Courts of their own, or for other reasons.

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Some Manors, again, would be rated below their value, through favour of the King and Witan. Hence, the original valuation seems to have had for its characteristics:

(1) Normal Hidation at the rate of £1 per hide:

(2) Onerous Hidation for Manors having special advantages:

(3) Advantageous Hidation for favoured Manors.

Advantageous hidation appears to have grown more prevalent as time went on; so that eventually large quantities of land were exempted from Danegeld. The rectifying of this abuse, as well as the increased rateable value of much land through improvement in cultivation, were pretty surely among the reasons which led the Conqueror to order a new survey. Webb gives some remarkable extracts from the Exeter MS. showing the extent of Advantageous Hidation, and the frequency of total exemption[1]. In the *Inquisitio Eliensis* we find

[1] These are as follows:

"*Dorset.* In Etheminstre Hundred are 47 hides and the Bp. of Sarum has land enough for 6 teams. Thereof the Barons have in demesne 6 hides, 1 virgate, and 6 carucates, that is the six carucates of the Bp. of Sarum, 3 hides and 1 virgate of Roger Arundel, and 3 hides of Bristuin. The King has £12, less 18 pence, from 40 hides, less a virgate. And the King never had anything from the half hide which Urso de Arnulfo holds: and *this year* the King has no gheld from the half hide which Dedeman holds of the Earl of Montaigne." Hence we have an old exemption, and a newly-created one.

"*Somerset.* In Cumgresberie Hundred are 19 hides. The King has therefrom 13*s.* 6*d.* for 2 hides and a virgate. The King and the Barons have in their own demesne 5 hides and 1 virgate. Of this the King has 3½ hides in demesne; and Ordric 3 virgates, and Ordulf half a hide, and Alward half a hide; and the King has no gheld for 11 hides which the villains of the King in Cumgresberie hold: and for half a hide, which the villains of the Church of Cumgresberie hold, the King has no gheld." Hence, says Webb, the King had no gheld for large proportions of many hundreds, of which are abundant instances in the S.W. Counties, as 50 taxable out of 113, 50 out of 104, 9¼ out of 25, 13 out of 34½, 14⅛ out of 52, 8 out of 44. See Exon. MS. p. 4 *a*.

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abundant instances of the same kind, some of which are also noted in the Cambridgeshire Domesday. We have, for example, Wood Ditton with 16 carucates of plough-land, assessed at 10 hides T. R. E., and one hide T. R. W.: Ashley with 4 carucates, Silverley with 8, assessed respectively at 3½ and 6½ hides T. R. E., and 2 and 4, T. R. W.: and these are but a few specimens out of many.

Hence we see, first, why the hides in demesne are so carefully separated in Domesday from the others, viz. because they were exempt from Danegeld (as the Charter of Henry I. also states), the tenants serving personally in case of war: secondly, what is the significance of the phrase "se defendit," viz. that a manor was hidated abnormally, generally on Advantageous Hidation, but sometimes on Onerous. Where a Manor is marked *M* in the Record, which is the case when it is the Capital Manor of several included in a vill, this abnormal hidation is sometimes implied without being expressed; as also it is occasionally in respect of smaller holdings carved by sub-infeudation out of such a manor, and feoffed to sub-tenants on equally favourable terms.

VI. *On the Domesday Valuation (Valet) of Manors and Holdings.*

It has been suggested by Archdeacon Hale that the *valet*, with which each Domesday entry concludes, is merely the render of those tenants who did no service personally on the Lord's lands. This view is received by Nasse with a certain degree of approval; both these great authorities laying stress on the consideration, that if the Domesday Book contains an exhaustive list of all the tenants, free as well as serf, it is most difficult to account for the enormous increase of free tenants observable in the Hundred Rolls of 17 *Edw. I.* But, whatever be this difficulty, nothing could be more explicit than the

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Conqueror's instructions as to the subjects of inquiry and inrotulation, preserved at the commencement of the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. An account of the free-tenants, as well as of the sokemen, is demanded, and a return as to each manor "quantum valebat totum simul[1]."

With regard to the valuation in the Conqueror's time, we may observe that it is expressed in Domesday by three phrases, "valet," "in totum valet," "in totis valentiis valet;" and that the last expression occurs only when there are some hides in demesne, not when all are portioned out to tenants; which, to me, appears to indicate in the most pointed manner that the estimate includes the value both of the demesne land and of the tenant's land, and not of the one without the other: *i. e.* that *valet* denotes the income reasonably to be expected from the land, whether in hand or sub-let. If a tenant merely paid a money rent, there seems no reason for his being personally entered on the record, though his render must have been included in the *valet;* but if he performed services only, or gave services as well as money, he needed to be enumerated, as he himself was one of the elements of value to the manor, just as much as the working teams were. The great objection, however, to Archdeacon Hale's theory of the *valet* is the arithmetical difficulty which it introduces: for, supposing it to be accepted, we ought to be able to arrive at a fair average value for the hide, if we deduct from the total number of hides in a manor those hides which are in demesne, and divide the remainder into the *valet* set down: for the *valet* being, on his hypothesis, the worth

[1] The topics of inquiry are these:

Quomodo vocatur mansio; quis tenuit eam tempore Regis Edwardi, quis modo tenet; quot hidæ, quot carucatæ in dominio, quot hominum; quot villani, quot cotarii, quot servi, *quot liberi homines, quot sochemanni;* quantum silvæ, quantum prati, quot pascuorum, quot molendina, quot piscinæ; quantum est additum aut oblatum; *quantum valebat totum simul, et quantum* modo; quantum ibi quisque liber homo vel sochemannus habuit vel habet.

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of the free-tenants' hides only, by the subtraction we shall arrive at their number, and by the division at their value. But try this, say, on the first four Hundreds taken alphabetically, i. e. Chesterton, Cheveley, Chilford and Erningford, and we get values ranging from £20 per hide in Wickham, £7 to £9 in Litlington, Silverley, Kirtling, Linton, through all gradations, to 23*s.* in Histon, and 24*s.* in Cottenham.

The better plan seems to be to form some hypothesis by comparison of a good number of entries, and then test it by seeing whether it accords with other entries not employed in this original calculation. From the careful mention of carucates (I use this word for convenience frequently, as equivalent to *terræ ad carucam*), I think the Conqueror and his Commissioners had already an idea of taking these as the basis of a new system of taxation, because representing much more closely than the hides the taxable value of the manors: but other modifying considerations, no doubt, were within their view.

I should therefore suggest these rules, which I find apply almost always satisfactorily to the entries in Cambridgeshire:

I. The valuation is rather on the carucates, or land under plough, than on the hides: and this explains why, after A.D. 1163 or A.D. 1194, hidage taxation was abandoned, and taxation levied on the carucate[1].

[1] "In 1163 the ancient Danegeld disappears from the Exchequer Rolls...Under Richard the same tax reappears under the name of Carucage: the normal tax being laid on the Carucate instead of the Hide, and each carucate containing a fixed extent of one hundred acres." Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 582. The last statement of Stubbs comes from Hoveden, iv. 47, and he, no doubt, intends six score by his "hundred." Thus "carucate" in Richard's time was, as already said, not the same as Fleta's carucate.

"The Scutage affects the tenants in chivalry: the donum, hidage or carucage all holders of land." Stubbs, *ibid.*

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II. The value of a carucate, duly furnished with adjuncts of meadow, pasture and working cattle, *i. e.* a normal hide, in a manor where hides and carucates are equal in number, is 20*s.*

III. When the carucates of a manor are in excess of the hides, the valuation rises, though not, as a rule, to the extent of 20*s.* for each extra carucate.

IV. Ploughland without teams is of little value: but teams in excess of the ploughland are estimated; for their existence proves that they had some employment other than agricultural.

V. An excess of slaves is generally a cause of considerable increase.

VI. An excess of serfs, whether *villani, bordarii* or *cotarii,* is also a cause of increase, but not to the same extent as an excess of slaves; the reason clearly being that a slave could be employed as his owner pleased, whereas a serf was only bound to render *certain* services, and *on the manorial land.*

VII. The value of mills[1] is always stated, and must be deducted from the total *valet* of a manor, before applying the foregoing rules.

VIII. The manor in which the Hundred Court is held is always rated more highly on that account; and sometimes the Hundred Court appertains not to one, but to two or more manors adjacent one to the other.

IX. The manors included in the great Baronies are often exempt from Hundred jurisdiction and have courts of their own, which adds to their value to the Lord.

X. Wood adds to the value of a manor; and *silva unius porci* seems to be worth about two pence. This peculiar mode

[1] Mills in Domesday are, of course, water-mills. Wind-mills were unknown till the Crusaders borrowed the idea of them from the Saracens.

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of calculating woodland, *i.e. tot porcorum*, is rarely found except in Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire, wood being in other counties usually reckoned in length and breadth, by leagues, quarentines and linear acres. Some authorities consider it to have been almost valueless; but if so, it is difficult to account for its being so carefully mentioned. We may roughly arrive at the enlargement in the hide caused by the presence of woodland, thus: if a normal hide in the Hundreds of Radfield, Chilford or Cheveley be taken at 240 acres, the excess caused by the presence of wood in these Hundreds is 8784, 7408 and 5945 acres respectively, and we find this wood described in Radfield as 1050 hog-walks, in Chilford, 857, and in Cheveley, 614; whence we deduce that *silva unius porci* is 8¼, 9 or 10 acres. Roughly, therefore, wood to the extent of one hog-walk augments the hide by 9 or 10 acres; say 10, so that a hide with pannage for one hog would be 250 acres, with pannage for 10, would be 340, and so on: and this, supposing as we must that the hide still remained worth £1, would accord with Eyton's estimate (obtained in quite another way), that woodland was worth about ⅛ of a penny per acre, or that six acres of wood were worth one acre of average land, or half an acre of ploughland. The mention of *silva porcorum* in Cambridgeshire is confined to the three Hundreds just named, with the exception of two or three entries in Stow Hundred, the same number in the Isle of Ely, and one in Erningford Hundred. Elsewhere we have mention of *silva ad sepes reficiendas*, or *ad sepes claudendas;* not so often *ad sepes et domos* (haybote and housebote), once only *ad domos curiæ*, and once *ad sepes et focum*. All these expressions imply a smaller area of wood, and possibly of wood not mast-bearing, *i. e.* not oak or beech.

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VII. *On the Population of the County.*

The cultivators are found to be as follows[1]:

Hundred.	Villains.	Bordars.	Cottars.	Serfs, total.	Slaves.	Free tenants. counted.	named.
Chesterton	98	63	63	224	11	1 +	6
Cheveley	79	45	—	124	23		4
Chilford	163	84	—	247	52	10 +	12
Erningford	116	221	94	431	41	15 +	18
Flendish	80	81	4	165	24	26 +	2
North Stow	106	118	127	351	20	6 +	10
Papworth	99	94	55	248	37	42 +	8
Radfield	121	97	—	218	38	9 +	6
Staine	85	43	—	128	39	3 +	5
Staplehow	205	131	—	336	68	18 +	7
Stow	128	106	90	324	39	25 +	6
Triplow	161	80	24	265	30	13 +	6
Wetherley	111	169	117	397	26	16 +	13
Whittlesford	99	72	—	171	18	1 +	8
	1651	1404	574	3629	466	185	+111=296

[1] To these totals must be added for the Isle, 277 vill. 17 bord. 171 cott. 95 slaves, 63 free tenants.

My totals differ somewhat from those of Ellis and Turner:

	Tenants in Capite.	Freemen in the County.	Freemen (Burgenses) in Cambridge.	Villains.	Bordars.	Cottars.	Slaves.
Ellis	45	511	29	1907	1423	739	
Turner	42	373	295	1898	1436	742	563
Walker		359	{ 297 taxable 33 untaxed	1928	1421	745	561

The 511 freemen of Ellis include those whom he designates, "undertenants, francigenæ, homines, milites, milites Francigenæ, piscatores, presbyteri, sochemanni:" the 373 of Turner are classified by him as, "tenentes, sochemanni, piscatores, *moldarii, silvatici, porcarii*," though of the said *moldarii, silvatici* and *porcarii* I can find no mention in Domesday.

I omit the tenants in capite, for it is impossible to decide which of them were resident: and in the "freemen" I include in each Hundred, with those merely *counted*, those also who are *named* as sub-tenants for the *first* time, omitting those who have obviously been mentioned in a preceding Hundred or Manor.

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Hence, as the number of hides is 1102½, there are to each hide about 3⅓ serfs and ⅔ of a slave, or not quite 4 cultivators, excluding the freemen; with the freemen as nearly 4 as possible. To enter into the differences between Villains, Bordars and Cottars is not part of my present purpose; but it seems clear that whatever was the distinction between Villains and the other two classes of serfs, there can have been little between Bordars and Cottars; for entries specifying the one in Domesday are often replaced by entries of the same number of the other class in the *Inquisitio*; and the absence of Cottars from six of the Hundreds above catalogued can scarcely be explained, except by supposing that the Jurors drew no distinction between them and Bordars.

VIII. *On the Minor Incidents of Value.*

Meadow, *pratum*, denotes sometimes grass-land permanently enclosed, sometimes land only enclosed in the spring-time till hay-harvest, and during the rest of the year common. It seems to have been scarce and valuable, and sometimes is measured in acres, but more often is described as enough for a specified number of teams, or as *pratum carucis*, "sufficient for the existing teams." We have only two instances in the Cambridgeshire Domesday where a larger number of *acres* of meadow than 4 is mentioned, viz. 5 acres in Cottenham and 12 in Balsham. Hence, it is possible that 5 or 6 acres was the meadow "for a team;" and that it could not be much more is highly probable by comparing, where identity is clear, the Domesday mention of carucates of meadow with the acres of the Hundred Rolls [1].

[1] Eyton, to prove that meadow was scanty and valuable, has shown that in Dorset only about 600 acres can be found in Domesday out of 126,000

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Pastura is grass-land never enclosed: and is described as *ad pecuniam villæ* when the cattle of the Lord and of his tenants fed on it together, and *ad suam pecuniam* when reserved for the Lord's cattle only. *Ad pecuniam* is ambiguous, but probably means the same as *ad suam pecuniam.*

Mills were valuable, because the tenants of the Manor, and sometimes those of adjacent manors, were under obligation to grind there: hence even the *molendinum confractum* at Duxford, or the *molendinum nihil reddens* at Lolsworth, was worth enumerating as a contingent source of revenue. The millers, serfs no doubt, were often required to feed a certain number of swine for the Lord, besides paying him rent; as at Fordham and Shelford.

Fisheries were numerous and valuable, as we should expect; and their revenue was usually in eels; though sometimes there was a money rent as well, or a money rent only. Generally the entry is, so much *de piscariis;* but now and then *de gurgite,* i. e. "from the stream;" once *de dim. gorch,* or "from half the profits of the weir:" *de theloneo retis,* "from toll of the net" in Swaffham. *Sagenæ,* or seine-nets, are paid for in Soham and Snailwell: and at Soham too there is as a source of revenue, *una navis quæ piscatur in mara per consuetudinem.*

We have frequent mention of renders in kind: *soci,* ploughshares, together with 400 eels, as the render for a marsh in Bottisham: *soci* for a right of wharfage, *de portu,* in Aldreth or Hillrow; for pasture in Cherry Hinton and Great Abington. Eels also are the render for pasture in Soham, and for meadow in Isleham, and, of course, frequently for a marsh. A sextary of honey was a Saxon render in Histon.

Although leases for years (or life?) were not yet very com-

acres of Royal Demesne; and that in the Hundred of Cogdean there were only 479 acres of meadow in an aggregate of 29,000.

In Leicestershire, as Nichols shows in his tables, there were 4791½ acres of meadow, the County containing 514,164 acres.

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mon, we have instances of them, *i. e.* grants *ad firmam* in Litlington, Fulbourn and Wood Ditton. The herbage was let for a money rent at the same Wood Ditton, at Camps and at Croxton; also a portion of the meadow at Shingay. The sedge, *juncci*, brought in 16^{d} a year at Wilberton, the marsh and the carts were both put out at hire in Cherry Hinton. Some of the incidents first named appear to be the beginning of the claim of the Lord to use for his own profit superfluous common; which ultimately was made a legal right by the Statutes for assarting passed in A.D. 1236 and 1285.

Amongst miscellaneous entries we may note a warren, *warra*, in Hinxton; *iii arpendi vineæ*[1] at Ely; a deer-park, *parcus bestiarum silvaticarum* at Burch in Radfield Hundred, and another at Kirtling; churches, *i. e.* I suppose, advowsons, at Teversham, Meldreth and Shelford; and gardens at Cottenham, Clopton, &c.; whilst cottars are frequently described as *cotarii de ortis suis*.

The pecuniary renders are almost invariably set down in pounds, shillings and pence, but we have three or four mentions of *ores*[2], and one of an ounce of gold, in Weston, Radfield Hundred. And with these anomalous coins, or estimations, may be mentioned an anomaly of measurement in the "half hide of meadow" at Stetchworth in Radfield Hundred; as much a solecism as the hide of pasture noted by Eyton in the survey of Corseham in Dorset, or the "8 hides of pasture and a half hide of wood" in the account of the Devonshire lands of the Church of St Mary at Rouen.

With regard to the mention here and there of *libræ arsæ et pensatæ* and *libræ ad numerum*, we have Madox' statement, that

[1] Du Cange says *arpenna* or *arpendus* is a plot 170 feet × 120 feet, *i. e.* nearly half an acre.

[2] It seems certain that *oræ* or *ores* were not actual coins, but ounces, *i. e.* the twelfth part of a pound, worth therefore twenty pence each. A shilling also was not a coin, but twelve pence; a silver penny being a coin about as large, though only half as heavy, as a modern sixpenny piece.

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when rent was to be paid in "pounds *burnt and weighed*," the coins tendered were melted at the Exchequer, or 6*d.* or 1*s.* additional exacted per £, to compensate for the alloy and the waste by wear and tear. He also says that *librœ ad numerum*, *librœ albœ*, *librœ de denariis albis vel candidis* are equivalent, and denote the current coin of the realm.

In the lists which accompany this paper I have added to the Domesday accounts the numbers of the cattle, not being in team, given in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. These are usually stated for the lands of the Abbot of Ely only, but occasionally for lands held by others, and "invaded" by them to the hurt of the abbey. As to these it is only needful to say that *animalia otiosa*, (*a . o*,) denotes unworked or unbroken oxen, or breeding cows; *runcini* are saddle-horses, *equæ silvaticæ*, brood-mares. The references to paging are according to the arrangement of the photozincographed copy of the Domesday of Cambridgeshire, published at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, in 1862, under the direction of Colonel Sir H. James, R.E., F.R.S., &c.

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X. On the Minster-Church at Aachen. Communicated by R. C. Reade, Esq., M.A., King's College.

[March 13, 1882.]

It had been my hope and wish on this the first (as it is likely to be the last) occasion that I have the opportunity of submitting a communication to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, to present a complete monograph of the important building which forms the subject of this paper. This hope, I regret to say, has been frustrated. During a few weeks that I spent last summer at Aachen I had begun to collect materials and to take measurements with this object, when my work was interrupted by the septennial exhibition of relics; and before it could be resumed I was unexpectedly summoned home. As I see no immediate prospect of continuing my work on the spot, I have thought it best to lay before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society the few results I have been enabled to obtain.

The Minster-Church at Aachen is a building so unique in character, so rich in historical interest, and so valuable as an architectural landmark, that it is a matter for surprise that it has never been made the subject of a comprehensive work. In the various books I have consulted I have nowhere found such a thorough and workmanlike description of the original building as I had a right to expect; though in respect to

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its later or subsidiary parts information abounds. My best authority has been an old work lent me by Dr Sträter, of Aachen, entitled, "Aacher Chronick; das ist, eine kurze his- "torische Beschreibung aller gedenckwurdigen Antiquitäten "und Geschichten sampt zugefügten Privilegien und Statuten "dess königlichen Stuls und h. römischen Reichsstatt Aach." The writer was one Joannes Noppius, "SS. LL. Doctor et Advocatus," and the date of publication 1643 (though the dedication is dated eleven years earlier), and the history is carried down to the writer's own time. The work of Noppius was not original, but a translation, with omissions and additions, from the Latin work of Petrus à Berck, "Canon of this royal "basilica[1] of the B. V. M. and provost of St. Adalbert's," which had appeared a few years before. The value of this work is much enhanced by the fact that it was written thirteen years before the destructive fire of 1656, in which a large portion of the town and much of the cathedral were destroyed[2]. The copper-plate engraving, which I have had reproduced (see plate which follows p. 136), is of especial interest as establishing certain facts concerning the building.

In the notes I am now about to read I propose to follow the arrangement of Noppius's Chronicles, with such omissions and additions as are necessary.

Aachen, or Aach, as the name is written by Noppius, was called in Latin Aquisgranum, "from the warm springs (*aquæ*) "and from the Roman prince Granus, who was a brother or

[1] Though here, and by some modern writers, described as a Basilica, the church at Aachen possesses nothing of Basilican type.

[2] Though sometimes called a cathedral, the Minster-Church of Aachen does not rightly bear the name. There never was a Bishop of Aachen except during the French occupation. The Church was a Royal Chapel, like St George's, Windsor.

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"very near relation of Nero and Agrippina. He began to "build the town about A.D. 70. He also built a castle and "palace called Vegerra, or Veterra." I need not waste time in disposing of this Roman prince, but may state that the local antiquaries attribute the name to the patron deity Apollo Granius. I am ignorant of the import of this title.

The old palace, and apparently the town, was destroyed by the Huns under Attila, about 500, one tower alone remaining. "It remained in ruins until rebuilt by Charles the Great about "the year 777." This palace or Pfalz stood on the site of the present Rathhaus, erected in the 14th century, and was connected with the Minster-Church, or Pfalz-Kapelle, by a vaulted arcade, which joined the Church (as would appear) at the western extremity of St. Nicholas' Chapel, continuing through the so-called "Dormitorium" of King Philip of Swabia. (See Plan, which follows p. 152.)

Charles the Great kept Christmas at Aachen as early as 768[1]. It is said that as he was riding through the ruined town his horse's hoof struck open a spring of the medicinal water which there abounds, and that this circumstance induced him eventually to fix his residence there. In the earlier part of his reign he had usually held his court in his Rhenish castles of Ingelheim, Mainz, Frankfurt, &c. After the death of his beloved Fastrada (his third wife) A.D. 787, Aachen became the capital of the Frankish monarch. "There," says Eginhard, "about the year 796 he built the Minster with very great "splendour, and adorned it with gold and silver, and with "windows[2], also with railings and doors of cast brass. For this "building he also had brought from Rome and Ravenna marble "blocks, which were to be had nowhere else[3]. He also pro-

[1] *Annales Francorum.*

[2] Perhaps *glazed* windows are meant.

[3] For this he had obtained a special license from Pope Hadrian. Miræus, *Op. Diplom.* I. 643.

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"vided priestly garments in such quantity that not even the "doorkeepers performed their duties in their ordinary dress."

This great work (for such it was in such an age and country) was completed in the short space of eight years. The name of the architect employed by Charles is not certainly known. Some have attributed it to Eginhard himself; but besides the fact that he makes no mention of possessing so honourable a title to fame, this fancy is sufficiently disproved by the fact that he was a youth of but twenty years at the time of its commencement. At a later period it is true that he was appointed Overseer to the Royal Buildings at Aachen. The evidence seems on the whole to point to Ansigis, Abbat of Fontenelle, near Rouen, as the designer of the Church.

In its main features the work has remained unaltered from the day of its consecration by Pope Leo III. in the year 804, to this present time. The simple and dignified Romanesque octagon, with its bold dome of fifty feet span; the bronze entrance-gates and quaint bronze railings to the triforium; the very throne of white marble upon which the great emperor sat, all remain little affected by the eleven centuries which have passed over them. The subsequent additions have not much disturbed the harmony of the original. One great loss however there has been. The whole of the interior was covered with rich mosaics, of which not a particle now remains, although in the middle of the 17th century they would appear to have been complete. Of these I shall speak more particularly when I come to the description of the Interior; merely pausing to note the fact of their original existence in order to show how serious a calamity their loss must have been.

The following particulars of the life and death of Saint Charles the Great, as he is usually called by Noppius, bear upon his work at Aachen.

He was born on January 28, 742, about the time, says Noppius, that his grandfather Charles Martel died. But an

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old couplet, quoted by Noppius himself, speaks not of his grandfather, but of his father Pepin le Bref, running as it does,

> "Pipinus moritur cum surgit Carolus acer,
> "Natus in Ingelheim, cui Bertha fuit Ungara mater."

"About the year 777," says Noppius, "Carolus Magnus in the "ninth or tenth year of his reign began to rebuild the old "Palace in the form which is still to be seen in the middle of "the town[1]." His palace, like so much else, perished in the conflagration of 1656. "In the eight years from 796 to 804 "he built the Minster. About this time he also subdued the "Saxons, and gave them a law, that any of them who should "henceforth dispute about the Faith should be hanged upon "the nearest tree, in order to prevent their falling back into "their heathenish errors and idolatry; and for more security "he had about 10,000 men and women of them slaughtered, "and their children transferred to this neighbourhood[2]." The activity of the man, who during these eight years, besides the administration of his vast dominions, could complete a great architectural work, conquer and legislate for a fierce and powerful nation, and visit Rome to be crowned Emperor of the West, is extraordinary. At a later date he conquered Hungary, and recovered all the treasures taken from Aachen by Attila some centuries before[3].

The Minster-Church was consecrated A.D. 804, by Pope Leo III., in the presence of a great crowd of bishops and princes. As the legendary history of an ancient work is scarcely less interesting than its actual history, I need not apologise for narrating the following tradition. Charles had

[1] I was unable to identify this building in the engraving given by Noppius.

[2] The tone of evident approval with which Noppius, a lawyer and writer of the seventeenth century, relates these sanguinary proceedings, is worthy of note.

[3] Eginhard.

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greatly desired to have a hundred bishops present at the consecration festival. From far and wide they were gathered together, but with all his pains there were but ninety-eight. In order that the pious head of the Christian world might not be disappointed, two dead bishops of Lüttich (Liège) arose from their graves and joined in the episcopal procession[1].

The death of Charles occurred on January 28, 814, at the age of 72, after he had been King of the Franks for 47 years, and Roman Emperor 13 years. Both his birth and death were marked by prodigies; the former by the appearance of a bright star, the latter by the falling of the Forecourt of the Church (*Vorgebau des Tempels*) and of the gilded finial surmounting the dome.

"The body of S. Charles the Great (says Noppius) after "being embalmed was placed in the tomb seated on a golden "throne, namely at the place in our Lady's Minster under the "crown[2], which is still marked off with white marble. On his "side was bound a golden sword, and a book of the Gospels "placed in his hand, and the crown set on his head. He was "also clad in the imperial robes with sceptre and shield, with "relics and holy things, especially of our Lady, which during "his life he had held in great honour and had been used to "hang round his neck when fighting his foes; so after his death "they would not deprive him of his relics."

There his body remained for 352 years. Otto III. is said to have entered the tomb (May, 1000), and to have discovered the body seated in state as above described. He took away the Imperial crown, cloak, sceptre, and orb (Reichs Apfel) "and sent them to Nuremberg, in order perhaps that "they might be in safe keeping for a time; and there they "still are, and are used for the coronation."

The whole of this legend, excepting the bare fact of the

[1] Aachen was in the diocese of Liège.

[2] The great corona given by Frederic Barbarossa. See below, p. 152.

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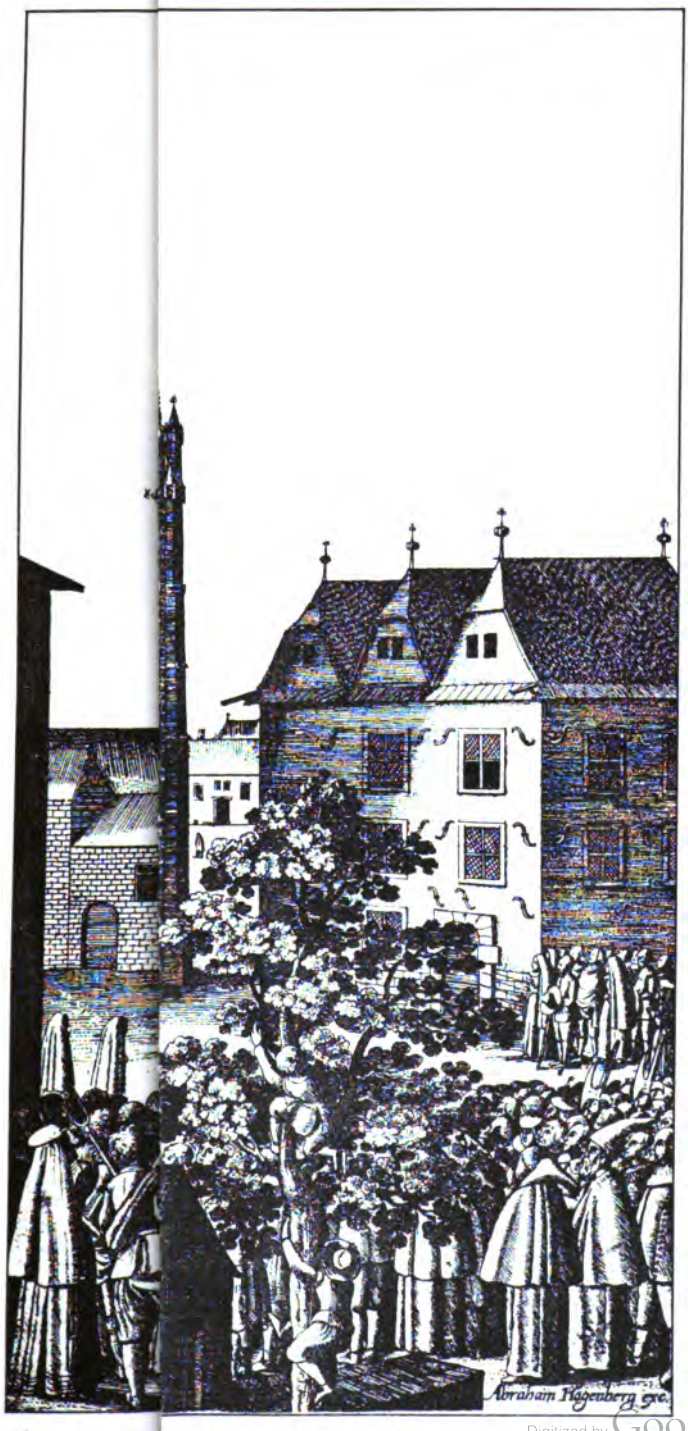

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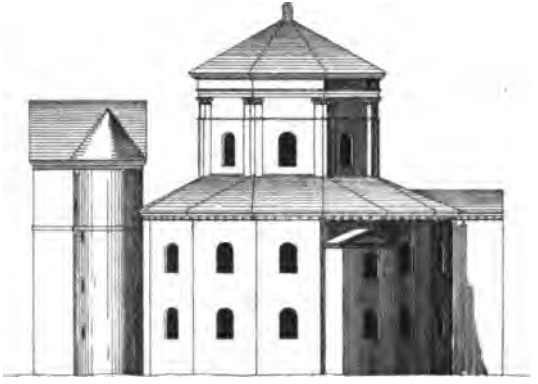

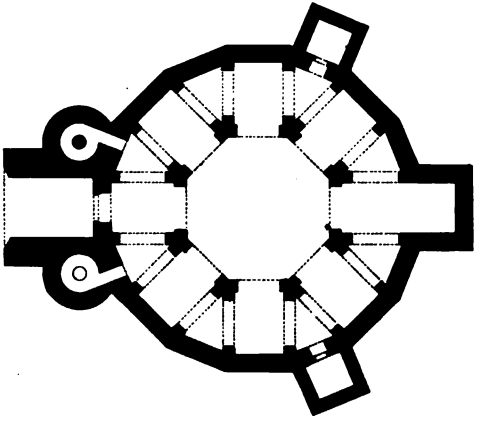

RESTORATION OF THE MINSTER CHURCH AT AACHEN

ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL DESIGN,

BY HERR BAUMEISTER RHOEN, AACHEN.

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opening of the tomb by Otto III., must be pronounced untrustworthy. It has been reproduced again and again in literature and art, but the evidence against it is conclusive[1]. In support of this view I will merely adduce the following evidence.

1. Sumptuous funerals were not customary in the 8th and 9th centuries.

2. Eginhard, the protégé and secretary of Charlemagne (b. 770, d. 844) makes no mention of any particular ceremonial at the funeral.

3. Eginhard states positively that he was buried on the day of his death, which would not have allowed for any considerable preparation or pomp[2]. The whole passage is interesting, and I shall take leave to quote it. Towards the end of his life, says Eginhard[3], he summoned his son Louis, King of Aquitaine, and had him crowned joint emperor. In the meantime according to his usual custom, he went to hunt not far from Aachen, returning thither about November 1st, "Cumque "ibi hyemaret, mense Januario, febre valida correptus, decubuit. "Qui statim, ut in febribus solebat, cibi sibi abstinentiam in- "dixit, arbitratus hac continentia morbum posse depelli, vel "certe mitigari; sed accedente ad febrem lateris dolore, quem "Græci pleurisin dicunt, illoque adhuc inediam retinente, neque "corpus aliter quam rarissimo potu sustentante, septimo post- "quam decubuit die, sacra communione percepta, decessit, anno "ætatis suæ septuagesimo secundo, et ex quo regnare cœperat, "quadragesimo septimo, v Kalendas Februarias, hora diei "tertia. XXXI. Corpus more sollempni lotum et curatum, et "maximo totius populi luctu ecclesiæ inlatum atque humatum "est. Dubitatum est primo, ubi reponi deberet, eo quod ipse "vivus de hoc nihil præcepisset: tandem omnium animis sedit,

[1] Professor Bryce (*Holy Roman Empire*, p. 163, ed. 1866) treats the story as an unquestioned fact.

[2] Still less for the necessary embalming of the body.

[3] Ed. A. Teulet (J. Renouard, Paris, 1841), vol. I. p. 94, chap. xxx.

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"nusquam eum honestius tumulari posse, quam in ea basilica,
"quam ipse propter amorem Dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi
"et ob honorem sanctæ et æternæ Virginis, genetricis ejus,
"proprio sumptu construxit. In hac sepultus est, eadem die
"qua defunctus est, arcusque supra tumulum deauratus cum
"imagine et titulo exstructus. Titulus ille hoc modo descriptus
"est

> "'Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus Karoli
> "'Magni atque Orthodoxi Imperatoris qui Regnum
> "'Francorum nobiliter ampliavit et per annos
> "'XLVII feliciter rexit. Decessit septuagenarius
> "'anno domini DCCC° XIIII°. Inditione VII. V Kal.
> "'Febr.[1]'"

The fact that his protégé and cotemporary, who was probably present at his master's death, confines his account of the Emperor's interment to the words 'In hac sepultus est' appears to my mind conclusive against the later tradition, which describes the exceptional pomp supposed to have been then observed.

Stripped of its principal ornaments (so runs the tradition) by Otto III., the body of Charles remained in its original tomb until 1166. In that year Frederic I. (Barbarossa) kept Christmas at Aachen, and on December 29th exhumed the bones of his great predecessor "with general triumph and rejoicing of "all spiritual and worldly folk." At the request of Frederic, supported by the Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishop of Liège, and all the Clergy, Pope Paschal conceded his claims to canonization; after which "his bones with those of the noble Roman "martyr S. Leopardus were placed in a golden ark." In that ark they still remain, being among the few relics existent whose authenticity can scarcely be disputed[2]. Tradition, how-

[1] A tax was introduced under the Roman empire upon property, which was re-assessed (*indictum*) every fifteen years. Hence *indictio* = the assessment of this tax, came to mean a space of time = 15 years.

[2] See Appendix A.

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ever[1], asserts that the bones were laid in a marble sarcophagus of great beauty, still preserved in the Minster, carved with the Rape of Proserpine, in high relief[2]. If this were so, they must have been again removed, and separated from the bones of S. Leopardus some centuries back, as the grave of the latter was only discovered some five-and-twenty years ago[3].

The important question still remains, Where was the Emperor's body laid? Noppius (as we have seen) says that the tomb was "under the crown," or in the centre of the Octagon. During the French occupation a slab inscribed "Carolo Magno" was laid over this spot. The local antiquaries however are agreed that wherever the original grave may have been, it certainly was not here[4]. Bock[5] thinks that the recently discovered foundations at the point marked "Ancient Foundations" on the Plan were not improbably those of his burial-place. His arguments are too long to enter into here.

The only persons besides Charles buried in the Minster are Otto III. (in the Choir), who was poisoned at Rome A.D. 1002, and Desiderius, King of the Lombards, with his wife and children, who were laid at the feet of Charles.

I shall now proceed to a detailed description of the edifice, following the arrangement of Noppius, as before.

[1] Quix "cannot believe" this tradition, but gives no reason for his scepticism.

[2] The Sarcophagus, with the marble pillars of the Church, was taken to Paris 1795, and restored 1815.

[3] Dr Sträter is my authority for this.

[4] Epitaphium Carolinum, says Noppius, stands on the left side of the Round Church, built into the wall, though originally laid over the tomb; and one still sees the same, but with a sarcophagus, whereon is carved *Raptus Proserpinæ*, or some such poet-lore. Prof. Bryce somewhat carelessly assumes that this modern slab marks the site of the original tomb. (*Holy Rom. Empire*, p. 163).

[5] *Rheinlands Baudenkmale des Mittelalters*, by Dr Fr. Bock. (Cologne and Neuss, L. Schwann, 8vo.)

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The Exterior.

The Church, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, consists of the original Octagon of Charles, now the Nave, with its Western Porch and Tower; to which was added in the fourteenth century a large and imposing choir, the original choir having probably been little more than a semicircular or square apse at the East end. Around the free sides of the octagon cluster the sacristies and chapels, dating from various periods. The latter are classified by Noppius as (1) S. Anne's, or the Hungarian Chapel; (2) S. Nicolas and S. Charles the Great; (3) S. Maurice above; and (4) S. Hubert below[1].

The West Tower was known as the Bell-Tower; and the exterior covering of the Dome as the Bleyenthurm or Lead Tower. I wish to direct your careful attention to the present appearance of the dome, as shown in my Section, compared with that represented in Noppius's copper-plate. The latter shows a twelfth-century spire of the usual Rhenish form, which was probably coeval with the upper blind-story superimposed in the twelth century on the original work. This spire was much injured in the great fire of 1656. I have hazarded the conjecture, which only careful examination can verify, that the lower portions of the principal timbers are part of the original twelfth-century work; and that the injured portions were removed and the whole finished with a seventeenth-century cupola. This idea was suggested to me by the straightness of the aforesaid lower timbers, and there are other details which appear to me to confirm it. But I have not been able to make the necessary examination of the carpentry.

The Bell-Tower is at present in a state of restoration, which means that it has been pulled down to about the level shown in

[1] I cannot make his arrangement tally with that of other writers, nor with the existing names. All these chapels in the time of Noppius had separate *Rectores*.

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the Section. The original form of the spire which surmounted it appears in the engraving.

"It was vaulted," says Quix, "conformably to the Minster-"aisle. Two winding stair-turrets support it on each side. The "ground-floor of the Tower formed an Ante-Church;" the bronze doors having originally stood East of the Bell-Tower[1]. "The Upper part of the Tower is of a later date than the "Church. Its original purpose is not clear, as bells were not in "use in the ninth century.

"In 1366 the roof of the Tower was burnt off—the upper "thirty feet of the structure—and the conflagration only ex-"tinguished by the valuable help of a Minnebruder, who re-"ceived for his exertions fifteen gulden."

Noppius says, "On the Bell-Tower is a lead cross, and this "tower stands between two other low Towers called the 'Sanc-"'tuary Chambers' (*Heilthumbs Cammeren*), also covered with "lead."

A gilt copper cross twenty-one "Hammerfeet" high above the roof surmounted the Bleyenthurm, upon which stood "an "iron stake eleven feet high, and thereon a gilt copper star of "very incredible size; the knob however on which the cross "stands is also of gilt copper twelve feet wide, and contains "400 Aachen q.[2]

"There is a spread eagle on the choir.

"The choir rises straight up without aisles; thus it gives "light from bottom to top like a burning lantern. It is bravely "vaulted, and from one side to the other in its breadth is "strengthened with four iron beams, and well provided (*wol versehen*)". These tie-beams were rendered necessary by the extreme thinness of the structure, and notably of the buttresses, which compare very unfavourably with the monumental counterforts of my own College Chapel.

[1] See Herr Rhoen's Restoration of the Ground-plan, preceding p. 137.
[2] Qu. Quarters?

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The Church has three doors of cast metal (bronze); the biggest and finest being the Wolf's-Door, at the West end of the Church. It is so called because on the left side of it on a pillar of masonry is a bronze she-wolf with open mouth, having a large hole in her breast, as though she had been shot. "Thereupon," says Noppius, "Hartmannus Maurus in Corona-"tione Caroli V and many other Historici give their Glosses. "Quoad me, unicuique hac de re judicium liberum esto." Dr Sträter informs me that the so-called wolf in reality represents a bear. The hole in its breast was doubtless meant to emit a stream of water. Here again I may perhaps be allowed to pause in order to give the legend by which the popular fancy has sought to account for the presence of this figure. It is said that when the works of the Minster were in progress, the Municipality found themselves so short of funds as to be unable to proceed. As the Town-Council were sitting to discuss the means of raising money for the building, a strange figure entered the Council-room and offered to supply all necessary funds, without any condition, save that the first living creature that entered the Church when completed was to be his, body and soul.

The counsellors, finding with whom they had to deal, fled cowering into the furthest corner of the room. But gradually recovering their courage, as the stranger produced bags upon bags of coined gold, they at length agreed to the terms proposed. A document signed with their blood was handed to the stranger, who thereupon disappeared with a sulphurous smell, and the counsellors separated, having pledged themselves to keep the transaction a profound secret.

Unfortunately one of them was induced to communicate the matter to his wife, from whom it naturally spread through the whole city. Great was the indignation of the citizens that the Town-Council should have made such a bargain.

Meantime the building was steadily carried forwards, suffi-

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cient funds being regularly supplied; but as it neared completion the public anxiety grew ever greater. The Emperor, who felt that the responsibility would rest upon him, if any of his people should be the victim of the iniquitous covenant, at last on the night before the consecration festival consulted a holy hermit. The recluse set his mind at ease. On the previous night a large wolf had been caught alive. On the festival morning it was brought in a cage to the Church door: a trap was opened, and the beast rushed into the Church to the discomfiture of the foul fiend.

So far the Legend is not peculiar to Aachen. There is however a sequel.

His Satanic Majesty, determined to be revenged on the town which had outwitted him, flew off to the coast of Holland, and there picked up a large sand-hill, with intent to drop it on the town and smother all inside it. As he flew with his great burden towards Aachen, he met an old beggar-woman on the road, with shoes in the last stage of disrepair. He asked her how far it was from the city of Aachen. The old lady at once detected that he was up to no good, and replied, "You see these "shoes? When I started from Aachen they were new, and now "you see I have worn them to shreds." Weary of his burden, and indisposed for so long a flight, the devil threw the sand-hill down; and there it remains hard by the city to this day, and is known as the Lousberg[1]. It is a sand-hill, quite unlike the other hills in the neighbourhood, and for centuries there was a tradition that nothing would grow upon it. During the French occupation however an enterprising Frenchman planted it with trees, and it is now thickly and beautifully wooded, and is the favourite resort of the townspeople.

The bronze wolf before the West door is supposed to have been erected in memory of the event recorded in the legend. On a similar pillar on the right of the door is a bronze shrub

[1] See Appendix D.

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(*Sträuchlein*), "so odd that one cannot well know what it is, "much less what it signifies." This also was a fountain, in the form of a pineapple or artichoke[1].

Both these works of art were carried off to Paris during the French occupation. On the pillar which supported the artichoke were the following inscriptions:

West side. dant urbi la...ces[2] quae q'i...v. ge.tes[3].
East side. fertilis Euphrates velox ut myssile tigris.
South side. Auctori grates canit Udalrich pius abbas.

"Beyond the West side is the small churchyard, the large "one being on the South side; and on (*auf*) the small one "behind (*nach*) the Singing-room is an outstretched hand, with "these words in gilded letters,

"Ecce Leo Papa, cujus benedictio sacra
"Templum sacravit, quod Carolus ædificavit"[4].

The Choir was finished in 1353 (though the Foundations had been laid long before), under the direction of the Burgomaster Gerhard Freiherr von Schellart, Provost of Aachen, surnamed Chorus or Coris; a title which would seem to be eponymous from his work. The choir was not consecrated until 1413.

The tall five-light windows of the choir, nearly eighty feet from head to sill, are shown in the section. With regard to them I have a few remarks to make, tending to show how easily the archaeologist may be led astray. Dr Sträter informed me that some thirty or forty years ago, when the choir of the Minster-Church was undergoing restoration, the late King of Prussia, being desirous of encouraging the arts in his kingdom, requested a stained-glass manufacturer in Berlin to furnish designs for filling the tracery of these windows. The

[1] Both wolf and pineapple had been removed during the restoration works, at the time of my visit.
[2] Qu. latices?
[3] Gentes.
[4] Noppius.

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windows then had six lights, and the glass-painter protested that no passable picture could be made with a mullion running up the centre. Accordingly the old mullions were removed and the windows remodelled with five lights instead of six.

This harrowing story appears to receive positive confirmation from the engraving of Noppius, which shows six lights in each of the larger windows. But this testimony is much impaired by the evident inaccuracy of other parts of the engraving. For instance, the smaller windows are in reality set between buttresses with a clear opening scarcely exceeding five feet, and allow room for no more than two lights. Yet the engraving fearlessly shows four lights, in a situation where it is quite impossible that they should have been so constructed. The fact is that the whole is drawn with a seventeenth-century artist's contempt for Gothic work, and cannot be trusted as to details.

What however settles the matter is the fact that Mr Rhoen, a professional architect, assures me that he was in constant attendance on the spot during all the restoration work, that the old traces were carefully followed out, and that the whole story of the glass-stainer and the original six-light windows is a fiction, probably founded upon this very engraving in Noppius's work.

It was the same Gerhard Chorus who built the existing Rathhaus, upon the site of the old Pfalz, as well as the old Market fountain, and many of the Towers and Gates of the town. He died in 1367 or 1371, and over his tomb by the Wolf's Door was erected a great blue gravestone with a copper plate thus inscribed:

Gerardus Chorus miles virtute sonorus
Magnanimus multum scelus hic non liquit inultum,
In populo magnus, in clero mitis ut agnus.
Urbem dilexit, et gentem splendide rexit;
Quem Deus a pœna liberet, barathrique gehenna.

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"In 1399 on the Conversion of St Paul the Provost Count "Wilhelm von Wede promised and set seal to it himself, every "evening to burn a wax taper over this grave, namely before "the picture of the Virgin there: which yet from the hardness "of the times has unfortunately fallen into disuse."

The Interior.

There are, or rather were originally, three chief entrance-doors to the Church, viz. the Wolf's Door, at the West end, S. Anne's, now the Chapel of the same name on the S.S.E., and the Merchant's Door on the N.N.E. The original gates of bronze are still *in situ*, save that those of the Wolf's Door were originally East of the Bell-Tower, the ground-floor of which was open to the churchyard, and formed an ante-church. These gates are fine specimens of old bronze-work, and are ornamented with highly classical lion-heads, moldings, and scroll-work. A seventeenth-century porch was built outwards on a semicircular plan to receive these gates in their altered position.

Passing through the ante-church the visitor descends a few steps into the central octagon. If small things may be compared with great, I should like to call attention to the resemblance this portion of the Minster bears to St Sepulchre's Church at Cambridge, built just three hundred years later. The same low and massive arcade; the same large open triforium; above this the same eight small round-headed windows, and dome crowning all, are to be seen there as here. But Charlemagne enjoyed the riches of the greatest empire in the then world; he could draw upon Italian skill, and upon the treasures of Italian temples: while the added work of a later age closes the vista, not with a common-place Perpendicular Chancel, but with a fourteenth-century Choir of unequalled and hazardous lightness. Disappointing therefore as the interior

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may be to the eye that is fresh from the glories of Cologne or Rheims, and damaging as is the monotony of the existing white-wash to a building intended to blaze with colour, yet when we consider the early date together with the excellence of the building, and the fact that three hundred years later we were building such Churches as St Sepulchre's, the mind becomes almost stupefied at the boldness and perfection of the work of the great Frankish Sovereign.

I have mentioned that the whole of the interior was originally covered with mosaics, which have now disappeared. The grave Noppius in describing them rises to enthusiasm.

"The Throne (qu. = Dome, canopy?) whence the corona "depends is a wonder to behold, and shines like a golden "mountain. It is inlaid with double pieces of glass, like a "cube (*wie ein Würffel*), fitted over each other, and in each "doublet there are two grains of gold, so that it produces a "continual glitter, and remains unalterable, provided only that "the bed in which these stones are laid is protected from rain, "&c. And not only the Throne is decorated with this mosaic "work, but all the windows—yea, as some will have it, all the "church is so built that as on the windows (so everywhere) "inspection is satisfied.

"Item to the decoration of the Throne formerly corre-"sponded that of the Pavement, videlicet, instead of the present "blue stone the church was paved with fair figures and flowers "in small marble mosaic."

It will be seen how irreparable this loss must be. The mosaics of the dome have recently been restored by Signor Salviati, but I regret that I can say little in their favour. I have been enabled by the kindness of Herr Baumeister Rhoen, of Aachen, to exhibit to you some specimens of the mosaic cubes used in old work of Charles and in the modern work of Salviati.

The ground-plan of the Round Church consists of an octagon, formed by eight massive piers and arches of equal size.

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This is surrounded by an aisle of sixteen sides, covered with a barrel vault. A small eastern apse and two side entrances, together with the Western Tower, probably completed the original plan[1].

But according to a custom which became very general in the Rhineland, the Church is built in two stories, the lower of which is the less important and imposing. While however other Churches have a double choir, here, for especial reasons, there is a double nave. Above the lower arcade rises a second, greatly surpassing the first in height and beauty. For not only are the arches double the height of those below, but each of them is decorated and supported by a double order of three small arches, which rest upon rare and beautiful polished columns brought by Charles from Ravenna and Rome[2]. This graceful tracery is directly imitated from St Vitale, Ravenna; but the columns were the spoils of ancient temples, no contemporary artist being capable of producing such works.

In our own Romanesque Churches we find the Triforium or upper Church of considerable size and importance[3], although far from assuming the dimensions seen at Aachen. It is generally difficult to understand for what kind of functions these large galleries can have served. Here however one purpose is evident. For here stood, and still stands, the Imperial Throne, "on which the Roman king sat as soon as he was crowned, and "was first saluted as Roman King by the Electors and Princes. "It is raised a little higher from the ground than a common "altar, and rises up over[4] five white marble steps; and the "throne is likewise of white marble, fitted with copper at the "angles[5]."

[1] See Herr Rhoen's Restoration of the Original Plan.

[2] These were taken to Paris during the French occupation, but restored by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

[3] As at Ely.

[4] There are now six steps, but the lowest is of black marble.

[5] Noppius.

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The throne, which is said to be that of Charles himself, stands in the Western Bay of the Upper Church, so as to face the high altar; it is raised upon six steps, and has an altar-table behind[1]. Upon this throne the great majority of emperors were crowned[2]. It is also supposed to have been that upon which the great Emperor's body was placed after death. Noppius states that this throne stood in his time "in the Hoch-"minster of the Hauptkirch under the organ," which would seem to indicate that the original organ stood at the West end of the Nave. He continues, "*Basis hujus sedis* is open below, "and strangers generally creep through it with bowed head, for "a sign that they willingly submit themselves to the Holy "Roman Empire and to the successors of S. Charles the Great." No such passage beneath the throne is now to be seen.

Passing round the Triforium we find the existing organ between the octagon and the choir. "The old organ," says Noppius, "was an exceedingly ancient work, built by Keyser "Ludovicus Pius[3] by the hands of a priest Georgius Venetus: "but in our time it was quite fallen to ruin; so the Worshipful "Chapter three or four years ago erected a new one at a cost of "over 2,000 Reichsthalers, by Master Johannes Schaden of "Westphalia, containing twenty-four Registers (= Stops)."

The Triforium, or Hauptkirch, or Hochkirch, is protected by a bronze railing, of extreme beauty and elaborate workmanship. Local antiquaries appear to regard it as being older than the Church itself. My own belief is that it was made expressly for its present position, and is contemporaneous with the building. Not only is it precisely fitted to the spaces it fills, but from its peculiar style I think it can hardly be attributed to any other age. It was doubtless the work of Italian artists,

[1] Dedicated to S. Denys.

[2] The crown of Germany was assumed at Aachen, that of the Roman Empire at Rome, and that of Lombardy at Monza or Milan.

[3] The son and successor of Charles.

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imbued with classical feeling, which they worked out in their own way.

West of the Throne, and above the Ante-Church, stands the Bell-house, or as we should call it, the Ringers' Chamber. The Bells themselves are at a higher level.

We must now return to the ground-floor level. "Between "the Round Church and the Choir," says Noppius, "stands the "high altar of the Virgin, and behind above the altar in a "larger chest a smaller one of gold containing relics, marked "*Noli me tangere.* A certain Dean who out of curiosity sought "to examine it was struck with blindness."

The quasi-chapel in which this altar stands was "walled "round, railed in, and vaulted, with the vaulting-ribs gilded, "and with gold stars on a blue ground in the filling-in; also "with three painted figures on the vaulting[1]."

"On this high altar no one may celebrate mass but the "Archbishop of Cöln, the Bishop of Lüttich, and those Canons "who have the Pope's licence thereto.

"There are Thirty Altars more in this Church." Since the time of Noppius these have happily been removed, all, or nearly all.

"The pulpit is from top to bottom and on one side covered "and decked with gold plates, and beautiful shining precious "stones; which treasure was presented by the sacred Keyser "Henricus II., Duke of Bavaria[2]." It bears the following inscription:

"Hoc opus Ambonis auro gemmisque micantis
"Rex pius Henricus, cœlestis honoris anhelus,
"Dapsilis ex proprio tibi dat sanctissima Virgo,
"Quo prece summa tua sibi merces fiat usia."

The last of these lines (which I have copied from Quix) seems so obscure as to lead me to question the correctness of his quotation.

[1] Qu. the Trinity?
[2] Henry II. (the Saint) reigned 1002—1024.

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It is without exception the most gorgeous piece of church furniture I ever met with. It is composed entirely of plates of beaten gold, thickly set with antique jewels and ivory carvings. Every work of Roman or Greek art was at that early period pressed into the service of the Church; and as we see the sarcophagus of Charles carved with the Rape of Proserpine, and the Altar-Cross of Lothar[1] bearing as its central ornament a cameo of Augustus, so this pulpit is adorned with carvings of Bacchus, and other pagan subjects.

"The Altar in the Choir," continues Noppius, "is likewise "overlaid in a very beautiful and costly manner with gold "plates, said to have been made from the treasure taken from "the tomb of Charles.

"These treasures with many other jewels were removed "from here on account of the past turbulent times, but now "[1627] have happily returned.

"In front of this altar stands a most beautiful piece of art "of cast copper, representing the history of the three kings."

Hard by is the tomb of Otto III., poisoned at Rome 1002 A.D. Above it hangs the figure of our Lady, "very artificial," clothed with the sun, and surrounded by angels.

Not on the tomb, but in the Sacristy, is this inscription:

"Romani Imperii Decus amplum, tertius Ottho,
"Corpus Aquisgranum, Augusta sed exta tenet."

There is also in the choir a large brass lectern, of 15th century work.

"On the pillar-shafts of the Choir stand our Lady and "S. Charles followed by the twelve Apostles; and on both "sides of the Choir the vowels A.E.I.O.V. and under them "on the right side the date 1486, in which year Maximilian I.[2]

[1] Lothar I. reigned 840—855. On the stem of this Cross is another cameo, carved with the bust of Lothar, and the inscription

+XPEADIVVAHLOTHARIVMREGEM+

[2] His father Frederic III. did not die before 1493.

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"was crowned here. He took these letters for his device, and "stamped them on his coins, explaining them thus:

"Aquila Electa Iuste Omnia Vincit.

"(Teste Lorichio in Enchiridio suo Arrestorum, p. 68). Others "interpret:

"*Sicut* Aquila Evolat Inter Omnes Volucres,
"*Ita* Aquisgranum Eminet Inter Omnes Vrbes."

Petrus Lambeccius, however, in his Diarium Sancti Itineris Cellensis (1666) interprets thus:

"Austriæ Est Imperare Orbi Vniverso."

It was, says Quix, a *Denkspruch*, or motto, of Frederic III.[1]

"I may mention," observes Noppius, "what has been of old "remarked, that no one can with impunity or without damage "enter the Choir booted and spurred."

From the centre of the Dome hangs the great Corona. It is of silver and gilt copper, richly adorned with enamelled figures, "and has in its circumference eight large and eight "small turrets, and forty-eight wax candles. It was given by "Frederic I. (in the year 1166 ?), and bears this legend:

"Cælica Jerusalem signatur imagine tali,
"Visio pacis, certa quietis spes ibi nobis:
"Ipse Joannes gratia Christi Præco Salutis
"Quam prophetavit, quamque Prophetæ denique virtus
"Lucis Apostolicæ fundavit dogmate vitam,
"Urbem siderea labentem vidit in æthra
"Auro ridentem mundo gemmisque nitentem
"Qua nos in patria precibus pia siste Maria.
"Cæsar Catholicus Romanorum Fridericus
"Cum specie munerum cogens attendere clerum
"Ad templi normam sumunt sua munia[2] formam.
"Istius octogenæ donum Regale coronæ

[1] A fourth interpretation is

Aller Ehren Ist Oesterreich Voll.

[2] Qu. munera ?

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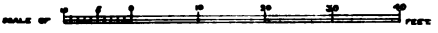
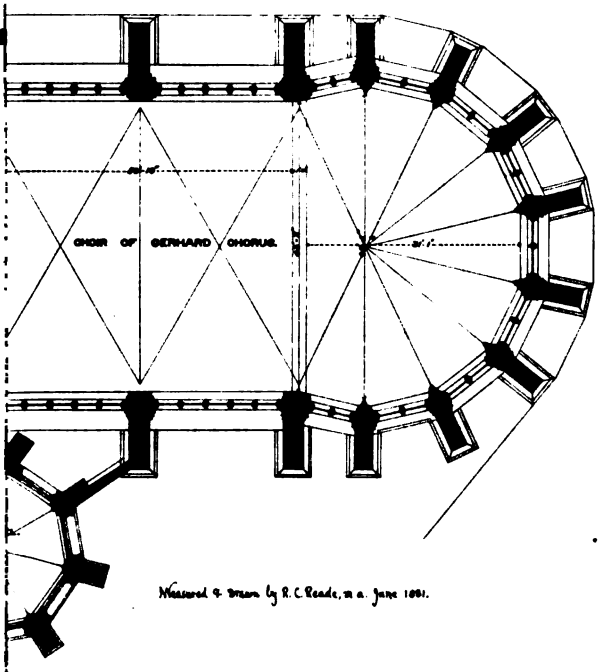
Ground Plan of the Minster-Church at Aachen

Scale of English feet.





Measured & drawn by R. C. Reade, M. A. June 1861.

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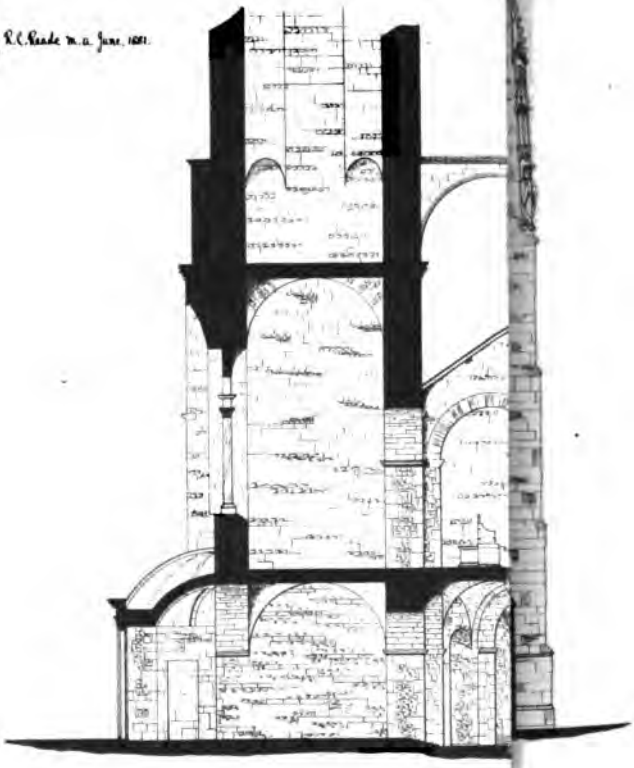
Longitudinal Section of the

Minster-Church

Aachen

Scale ½ inch to 1 foot

Measured & drawn by R.C. Leade M.A. June, 1851.



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"Rex pius ipse piæ vovit solvitque Mariæ.
"Ergo stella Maris astris præfulgida claris
"Suscipe munificum prece devota Fridericum
"Conregnatricem sibi junge suam Beatricem[1]."

The "turrets" in this corona are open, like lanterns, and were probably intended to hold lamps or larger candles. The corona is so large, that its forty-eight candles seem when lighted quite inadequate to its requirements, and the above inscription runs round it in a single line.

To conclude the account of the Church Furniture I quote from Noppius the following remarks on the bells. "There "are," says he, "in this house of God ten large and small bells, "the largest of all, called Our Lady's bell, having been cast in "1535, by a citizen of this town, John of Trier, who also in "the same year cast another, called 'S. John's, or the Sermon "bell.' The latter weighs 4000 lbs. the former 16,000 lbs. and "bears this inscription:

"Cur mihi Sacrificus Mariæ ter amabile nomen
"Indiderit, si me, lector amice, roges,
"Vox mihi dulcis erat, dulci famulaberis, inquit,
"Nymphæ, quam referes nomine, voce, tono.
"Hinc simul atque meas liquidum ferit æthera clangor,
"In Mariæ laudes excito corda pia.
"Protinus horrisono nubes, quæ grandine terrent
"Agricolas, sonitu dissipo læta meo.
"Oderit hæreticus, metuant cacodæmones, hanc quæ
"Virgo Deum genuit, jugiter ipsa canam."

"Charles the Great's bell, which still weighs 8000 lbs., is thus "inscribed:

"Anno Milleno, C ter, L ter, X magis Uno.
"Laude Deo plena mihi Carola nomen amœna."

I have mentioned that the whole of the interior was covered with mosaic work. Not content with this, Kaiser Otto III. further beautified it with pictures by painter John of S. James's

[1] Beatrice, daughter of the Count of Burgundy, and second wife of Frederic I.

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Cloister at Liège. I know nothing of this artist beyond the scant information supplied by his epitaph[1]:

> **Sta, lege, quod spectas, in me pia viscera flectas,**
> **Quod sum, fert tumulus, quod fuerim, titulus.**
> **Italiæ natus ... ...**
> **... ... ...**
> **Qua probat arte manum, dat Aquis, dat cernere plenum,**
> **Picta domus Caroli, rara sub axe poli.**

It remains for me to give some account of the subsidiary adjuncts to the Church proper. The original building of Charles is surrounded by numerous chapels, of various date and style. First of these in order of time, first also in position to one commencing at the east end, and going with the sun, is the double Chapel of S. Matthias. It may be some decades later than the Choir[2], but is probably the work of the same founder. It is now used as a sacristy, but its richness and general character clearly show that this was not its original destination.

Entering it from the Choir (the original entrance having been blocked up), the passage pierces a double thickness of wall (see Plan). A door opposite to this entrance leads into the Anna-Chapel; but this also is a modern alteration. It is very richly carved and vaulted in the interior, and the windows are of graceful tracery. Bock asks with much point, What can have been the intention of those who bestowed so much labour on a mere robing-room? His answer is as follows. It was, he thinks, a *conclave* or place of meeting for the seven Electors and the Emperor-elect at the Imperial Coronations. He suggests that the seven wall-spaces were meant to symbolise and to form seats for the Electors, while the large eighth wall-space abutting on the Round Church was for the Emperor, who may perhaps have there received the homage of the Electors.

[1] Quoted by Quix.
[2] About 1410, according to Bock.

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If this were so, it may be asked, Why did this *Conclave* or Lobby contain an altar? The question is answered by Hartmannus Maurus (*Consecr. Caroli V.*), who says that the Imperial Robes were laid on the altar before and after the Coronation.

Some have supposed that the Upper Chapel served for the purpose here indicated. But if it be considered that up to the beginning of this century the Upper Chapel was only accessible from the Lower by an exceedingly narrow winding stair[1], quite impracticable for an Emperor in his robes of state, this view will be at once dismissed.

Bock suggests that the Upper Chapel was intended as a fire- and thief-proof sacristy, especially designed to hold the royal insignia required for the coronation. His view receives support from the fact that a similar arrangement is found in the Cathedral of Prague.

The Upper Chapel is moreover strikingly plain and unadorned, compared with the rich work of the lower portion.

Passing through the Chapel of S. Matthias we reach the Second Sacristy or Anna-Chapel. This work is of later date, and exhibits throughout flowing tracery. Originally it was a porch open to the outer air, as seen in Noppius's engraving. It was then known as the Anna-Thor, and was appropriated as a burying place to the Brotherhood of the Mother of God, a guild founded in 1452, who purchased it from the Chapter in 1491 for a yearly payment of 3 marks 4 shillings. Above it was the Anna-Chapel proper and the Archive-Room. The Anna-Chapel was consecrated on January 28, 1449, by John of Heinsberg, Bp. of Liège. In 1586 the revenues were bartered away (*verdünkelt*) and there was no Rector more.

The *Hungarian Chapel* is at the S.W. corner of the Church. It was originally founded by King Louis of Hungary in the

[1] At present the entrance is from the Hauptkirch of the Octagon.

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year 1374 for the pilgrims of his nation, and the aspect of his work is indicated in Noppius's engraving. But it had the misfortune to be "restored" in 1767 by Count Batthyany, Commander of the allied Austrian army in the Netherlands against the French in the War of the Succession, A.D. 1748, to whom we are indebted for its present classical features and bulbous copper dome.

It is stated by Noppius that S. Bernard said Mass in this Chapel, at which time he healed a lame man and four blind men. The chasuble in which he celebrated was still preserved in the Minster in Noppius's day; he describes it as being of blue satin adorned with flowers of pearl.

The *Chapel of S. Nicolas* is at the N. W. angle of the Minster, and is perhaps the most interesting of all. Unfortunately I can do no more than refer you to the elaborate account of it in the work of Bock, who seems to have made an exhaustive review of its past and present condition. Since 1812 it has been generally known as the Kreuz-Kapelle, or Chapel of the Cross. Says Noppius, "This chapel like the "cathedral has a Chorus Pensilis, or Upper Church, and under it "*pro fulcro* near other hewn pillars a fair polished gray column "like the other aforesaid pillars in the Church." [Marked *P* on Plan.] This also (see p. 144) was removed to Paris, 1795—1815.

It was probably from the gallery of this chapel that ran the covered colonnade (*Säulengang*) connecting the Church with the Palace. After leaving the Church it would seem to have passed over the east side of the cloister. Eginhard tells us that on Thursday in Holy Week, A.D. 817, as Louis the Pious was returning from Church, this colonnade fell in, whereby the Emperor and his suite were covered with the ruins and more or less injured. Such accidents were not uncommon in the earlier middle ages, before the use and necessity of buttresses had been discovered.

It would seem from Noppius that the upper portion of

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S. Nicolas's Chapel was the Chapel of S. Charles; but Quix, whose arrangement is more intelligible, calls it the Chapel of S. Michael. This was formerly an appendage to the Priory (*Probstei*); but in 1348 the Emperor Charles IV. pawned it to the Margrave of Jülich, since which time the Dukes of Jülich have had the right of presentation to the chaplaincy. In this chapel is to be seen the beautiful marble sarcophagus, sculptured with the Rape of Proserpine, in which the bones of Charles are said to have been laid by Frederic Barbarossa.

S. Michael's Chapel, which according to Quix was above that of S. Nicolas, was founded by Henry, Duke of Bavaria, Palsgrave of the Rhine, Bishop of Speier, Utrecht, &c., Provost of the Church, who died in 1552.

"*S. Hubert's Chapel,* just before the merchants' door, "has long served for the Canons to hang up their vest-"ments. So long ago as 1586 the name of the Founder was "unknown." The Chapel is of a singular shape, and is separated from the passage into the Church by a rich fifteenth century screen. There is reason to believe that the original vestry was in this position, and that a branch colonnade connected this vestry with the great colonnade running from S. Nicolas's Chapel to the Palace. Above it, according to Quix, is the Chapel of S. Charles, but Noppius calls the Chapel over that of S. Nicolas by this name, and states that above S. Hubert's is S. Maurice's Chapel.

The *Baptistery* (*Tauf-Kapelle*) is the only one remaining of the Eight Chapels which formerly stood before the Wolf's Door towards the Fish Market. Up to the year 1803 all the children of the town were baptized here, except from Easter to Whitsuntide, when Baptism was administered in the Hoch-Münster, where the font stood before S. Denys' altar, at the back of the Imperial Throne.

Besides the above, there were formerly a number of Chapels which have now disappeared. "To the west of the Church,"

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says Quix, "there was [originally] a forecourt, which was at "a later time shut in by Chapels and the arcade formerly there. "Of these Chapels the following extended from the Wolf's "Door to the Baptistery."

S. George's Chapel. At the end of the sixteenth century this Chapel was so ruinous that the Dean of the Church gave leave to the Rector to say his weekly Mass at the altar in the choir.

S. Servatius' Chapel was removed in the year 1621.

S. Martin's Chapel.

S. Antony's Chapel.

S. Barbara's Chapel.

These five Chapels had ceased to exist in 1730, and their place is now occupied by houses. Opposite to them were

S. Quirinus's Chapel.

S. Katherine's Chapel, the largest of those in front of the Wolf's Door. It was ruinous in 1730, and towards the end of last century the stones were removed and the site laid out as a garden. In 1823 the foundations were discovered, and in them two grey granite columns, ten feet in length. These appear to have been carefully buried, as they were covered with loam. At an earlier date a white marble column had been taken from the same ruins.

S. Giles' Chapel existed up to the fire of 1656, and was not afterwards rebuilt. The entrance near the Armen-Seelen Kapelle was walled up, and the Chapel itself used as a muniment room.

S. Oswald's Chapel, which was renewed and consecrated in 1767, was the private Chapel of the Dean.

Perhaps the most interesting, and certainly the earliest and richest, of all the subsidiary buildings about the Minster, is what is called the "Dormitorium of King Philip of Swabia," otherwise known as the "Armen-Seelen Kapelle." This Philip, Duke of Swabia, who was Provost of Aachen from 1185 to 1194, was

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crowned Gegenkönig or Anti-king in the Minster-Church by some of the Electors in the year 1198. He died in 1208[1]; and we find the following notice of his death in the *Sterberegister des Aachener Stiftes*, which was probably compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century. (Quix.)

"Obiit Philippus Rex, qui cum esset præpositus huius eccle-
"siæ, de bonis præposituræ ædificatum est claustrum et dormi-
"torium."

It is evident that the name "Dormitorium" is derived from this excerpt. The Claustrum, or cloister, was rebuilt after the fire in the seventeenth century, and much of Philip's remaining work was removed in order to make room for the Kreuz-Kapelle. The only building besides the Cloister which was known to be his work being the Armen-Seelen Kapelle, the name of Dormitory was naturally applied to that.

This building is perfectly plain in the interior, and is covered with a heavy barrel vault. Along the side of it however, towards the cloister, is a rich and exquisite Romanesque arcading, with a wider entrance arch in the centre[2].

Anything less like a Dormitory it would be difficult to imagine. Moreover Dormitories were (1) never built on the ground-floor, (2) never vaulted. It would seem far more likely that this building was originally a portico, forming the entrance to a still more sacred building behind. It is otherwise suggested that it was part of the original passage or colonnade, connecting the original Carolingian Pfalz with the Pfalzkapelle, or Minster-Church.

However this may be, it is clear that King Philip, or Provost Philip, built the existing arcade, and it seems equally certain that the building to which he attached it was already existing, and was not his work. The question arises, admitting the

[1] By the hand of an assassin.

[2] See engravings in Bock's work, Vol. I. pp. 4, 5, of the article on Philip of Swabia's Building in Aachen Minster.

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structure to have been a portico, leading to a more important chamber in the rear, what must we suppose that chamber to have been?

The answer given by Bock deserves attention. He considers this rich portico to have been erected in order to glorify the entrance to the tomb of Charlemagne, which he supposes to have been in the oblong building which formerly existed behind the Armen-Seelen Kapelle, at the spot marked on the plan, "Ancient Foundations." This conjecture he thinks "not haz-"ardous." The thick walls of the foundations are built, he says, with a "pre-Carolingian cement." The fact that the ante-chamber was used as a mortuary chapel and called the Armen-Seelen Kapelle in very early times may perhaps be held to confirm his view.

We are now met by the question, Where was the true Dormitorium? For answer some writers refer us to a square vaulted room above the intersection of the cloister, measuring about sixteen feet in every dimension. There is little doubt that this belongs to the latter part of the twelfth century; it seems to have been built during the Vice-Provostship of Albertus Aquensis, the celebrated historian of the First Crusade; but its peculiarities render it eminently unsuited for a dormitory, and equally well adapted for an "archive-hall" or muniment-room, by which name it is generally known. As will be seen from the engraving in Bock's work[1], this chamber was built against a structure of earlier date, for we there see an early horizontal cornice supported by small round arches cutting into the *formeret* (or wall-arch) of the groining.

This closes the list of the more important appendages to the Cathedral. There is much room yet for investigation and description of the arrangements of the cloister, gateways, &c. The greater part of these date back to the fifteenth century; much of the work being considerably older: but my research

[1] *Baudenkmale*, p. 6 of the same article.

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did not penetrate so far, and I can only indicate it as a promising object of study to those whose pursuits follow the bent of architectural and historical inquiry.

And here I must conclude this very incomplete sketch. At every turn I have been put to inconvenience by the imperfect nature of my materials, and by the great difficulty of obtaining the few works which throw light upon the subject. When I mention in addition to these impediments the great labour thrown upon me by a very slight acquaintance with the German language, I trust I shall have said enough to excuse myself in the eyes of the Society for having laid before them the *disjecta membra* of what should have been a complete and organized whole.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PLATES.

1. Engraving of Minster Church about 1630 (from Noppius). *to follow* p. 136.
2. Herr Rhoen's Restoration of the original Ground-plan. *to precede* p. 137.
3. Ground-plan. *to follow* p. 152.
4. Longitudinal Section. *to precede* p. 153.

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APPENDIX A.

On the Bones of Charles the Great.

It is perhaps too much to expect minute antiquarian precision from general writers; yet if the local archæologist may be trusted, the statements made by certain English authors of repute are by no means accurate. I have endeavoured to show that the story of the opening of the tomb of Charles by Otto III. is contrary to evidence. Prof. Bryce is equally incautious in his location of the tomb. He speaks of it without hesitation as having been "below the central dome[1]." Dr Freeman would seem to entertain the same opinion, though his language may perhaps be interpreted otherwise[2]. The local authorities are quite agreed that the original tomb was not below the present memorial slab.

Professor Bryce is no less rash in the following remark[3], 'The 'Sarcophagus in which Charles himself lay, till the French scattered 'his bones abroad, had carved on it the Rape of Proserpine.' First, Prof. Quix, a high authority, denies that the bones were ever laid in that sarcophagus; secondly, the bones were not scattered abroad, but remain in the Church to this day. Dr Sträter informs me that he has handled them; and I have looked in vain for any tradition of their desecration or removal by the French; although there were in truth few objects of interest or value which escaped their brigand-like touch.

APPENDIX B.

Sequentia de S. Carolo imperatore.

The following Sequence is of some antiquity, and is given *in extenso* by Noppius, who states that it was sung on the feast of S. Charles. The opening lines have been quoted and re-quoted in every guide-

[1] *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 82.
[2] *Historical and Archaeological Sketches*, p. 71. (Macmillan, 1876.)
[3] *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 54.

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book, and are at least as old as the thirteenth century (see Appendix C).

Urbs Aquensis, urbs regalis,
Regni sedes principalis,
  Prima regum curia,
Regi Regum pange laudes,
Quæ de Magni Regis gaudes
  Carolî præsentia.
Iste Cœtus psallat lætus
Psallat Chorus hic sonorus
  Vocali concordia:
At dum manus operatur
Bonum quod cor meditatur
  Dulcis est Psalmodia.
Hac in die, die festa,
Magni Regis magna gesta
  Recolat Ecclesia,
Reges terræ et omnes populi
Omnes simul plaudant et singuli
  Celebri lætitia.
Hic est Christi miles fortis,
Hic invictæ dux cohortis
  Ducum sternit millia.
Terram purgat lolio
Atque metit gladio
  Ex Messe zizania.
Hic est magnus Imperator,
Boni fructus bonus sator
  Et prudens Agricola.
Infideles hic convertit
Fana Deos hic invertit
  Et confringit idola[1]

Hic superbos domat Reges,
Hic regnare sacras leges
  Facit cum justitiâ.
Quam tuetur eo fine
Ut et justus, sed nec sine
  Sit misericordia.
Oleo lætitiæ
Unctus dono gratiæ
  Cæteris præ regibus.
Cum coronæ gloriæ
Majestatis Regiæ
  Insignitur fascibus.
O Rex Mundi Triumphator
Jesu Christi conregnator
Sis pro nobis Exorator
  Sancte Pater Carole.
Emundatî a peccatis
Ut in Regno Claritatis
Nos Plebs tua cum beatis
  Cæli simus incolæ.
Stella Maris O Maria
Mundi Salus, vitæ via,
Vacillantum rege gressus
Et ad Regem des accessus
  In perenni gloria.
Christe splendor Dei Patris
Incorruptæ Fili Matris
Per hunc sanctum cujus gesta
Celebramus, nobis præsta
  Sempiterna gaudia. Amen.

[1] The allusion is doubtless to the conversion of Witikind and the Saxons, and to the destruction of the Irminsul.

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APPENDIX C.

The Kornhaus at Aachen.

An old half-ruinous hall stands not far from the West End of the Minster Church. It is known as the Kornhaus, or as the Court-house of King Richard of Cornwall. The building is of interest to Englishmen, because it commemorates the one Englishman who attained the Imperial dignity, though never actually crowned Emperor. Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall, son to King John and brother to Henry III., was elected Emperor by four out of the seven Electors, the remaining three recording their votes for Alphonso the Wise, King of Castile. This was during the Great Interregnum, after the failure of the Hohenstaufen or Swabian line. He was crowned King of Germany (*Deutscher König*) with much pomp in 1257, and reigned until 1272. It was probably about the year 1267 that the Kornhaus was erected. It is of a chaste thirteenth century character, and is decorated with figures of the seven Electors in the topmost order, or blind-story, of the Façade. Under the first-floor windows runs the following inscription:

[U]RBS AQUENSIS URBS REGALIS REGN[I]
[SEDES PRINCIPA]LIS PRIMA REGUM CU[RIA]
[HOC OPUS] FECIT MAGISTER HEI[NRICUS]
..... [REGNA]NTE R[E]GE RIC[ARDO[1]].

APPENDIX D.

The Salvators-Kirche at Aachen.

The building which gives the distinctive appellation to the French name of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, is not the Minster-Church of Charles the Great, but a structure of Basilican type erected by his son and successor, Louis the Pious. Its date can be very accurately determined. Louis succeeded his father in the year 814. He built this basilica in conjunction with his first wife Irmengard, to serve as a burial-

[1] See Bock, *Rheinlands Baudenkmale.*

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place for his family. Irmengard died in 818, and the Church must therefore have been commenced during those four years.

It is interesting to notice the total difference in character between the Church of Louis and that of his father. The former is a basilica with nave and aisles of the ordinary early type; the latter is one of the rare circular churches which are found here and there from end to end of Europe.

Several years after the death of Louis the Pious, his son, Louis the German, having visited Aachen, and found his parent's church almost in ruins, issued a Diploma dated 17 Oct. 855, by which he made it over to the Abbat Ansibold and his successors in the Abbey of Prümm, and also appointed a chaplain to minister in it.

The Church stands upon the Salvator's Berg, which is merely a spur of the Lousberg. It is supposed that the word Lousberg is a corruption of Luwesberg, or Ludwigsberg, so named after the Church of Louis built upon it.

The common folk call the Church S. Sellester's, whence it has erroneously been supposed to be dedicated to S. Silvester.

APPENDIX E.

Eginhard the Historian.

Eginhard, or Einhard, was born at the commencement of Charles's reign, about the year 770, probably in the province of Starkenburg, in the Grand Duchy of Hesse Darmstadt. He was one of the College of children brought up under the patronage and personal care of the Emperor. His gratitude to Charles rendered him a constant friend of his son, Louis the Pious, by whom he was named overseer of public works, and governor of Louis's son, Lothar, when the latter was associated with his father in the empire. Eginhard married Emma, whom tradition alleges (erroneously, one may suppose) to have been a daughter of his master Charles. Soon after his marriage he took monastic orders, without however separating from his wife, "mais en ne conservant plus avec elle que des "relations toutes fraternelles." He appears to have first been appointed Abbat of Blandigny de Gand. In 807 he added to this the abbey of Fontenelle, or Saint Wandrille, in the diocese of Rouen,

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which he ceded in 823 to his friend Ansigis. He also held the monastery of S. Bavon, which he restored, A.D. 819. Besides the above, in the year 819 or 821 he received the abbey of S. Servais of Maestricht. Another of his preferments was a certain monastery of S. Cloud, not however the S. Cloud in the neighbourhood of Paris. Lastly, he held the benefice of S. John Baptist des Dames at Pavia.

It appears that up to 830 in spite of his abbeys he lived at the Imperial court. He built a church "d'une construction assez remarquable" on his demesne of Michelstadt in the Odenwald, and obtained for it relics of S. Peter and S. Marcellinus. These he afterwards moved to Mulinheim, which he renamed Seligenstadt, or City of Saints, where he founded an Abbey of Benedictines, which existed up to the end of the last century. He intervened, but without success, to prevent civil war between Louis the Pious and his sons; and soon after falling ill retired to Seligenstadt. He recovered his health, but not completely.

In 833 Louis the Pious was driven from his throne, and the empire divided between his sons Lothar, Louis the German, and Pepin. Eginhard was obliged to vow homage to his new master Louis the German. In 836 his wife Emma died. About the same time Louis the Pious went to visit him at Seligenstadt.

He died in 844, aged 74 years.

Other contemporary authorities are Frodogar, Bishop of Rheims, and Aistulph, a cleric of Tours.

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XI. Note on Moïse du Soul (Moses Solanus), M.A. by Royal mandate, 1701. Communicated by the Rev. John E. B. Mayor, M.A., St John's College, Professor of Latin.

[May 8, 1882.]

Lucian ver. hist. I 24 amongst impossibilities in nature *τῇ μέντοι γαστρὶ ὅσα πήρᾳ χρῶνται, τιθέντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὅσων δέονται. ἀνοικτὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὕτη καὶ πάλιν κλειστή ἐστιν.* 'They (this imaginary tribe) use the belly for all the purposes of a pouch, putting in it whatever they need. For it is capable of opening and shutting again.'

On which Solanus, or Moïse du Soul, remarks (II 91 *a* ed. Reitz) ridet Lucianus historicum aliquem, qui talia animalcula dari tradidisset; sed immerito; nuper enim post nostrorum hominum ad Indias utrasque nauigationes compertum est, existere genus quadrupedis, cui sub uentre pera quasi est, in quam se pulli recondunt. cuius modi Cantabrigiae anno MDCC uiuam circumlatam earum rerum curiosi omnes viderunt. adi etiam Ael. n. a. I 17.

Aelian and others cited by Jacobs in his note, especially Ambrose hexaëm. v 3 § 7, ascribe this property to what they call the dog-fish. Add Basil. in hexaëm. hom. 7 § 2 (I 64 *b*) of dolphins and seals.

I think that the Society may be interested to learn that an opossum from America was exhibited here in Cambridge nearly

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200 years ago; in the same year in which Marshall of Christ's read to the Royal Society a paper on the religion of the Bramins.

Leaving those whom it concerns to hunt the spectacle, this marsupial so strangely recorded for our benefit[1], I venture to offer a few notes on the spectator, Du Soul, who has been singularly neglected. Nicéron, Jöcher, the biographical dictionaries, the *Nomenclator* of Eckstein, know nothing of him. There is a meagre notice in Haag *La France Protestante* IV[1] 512 and another in Nichols *Lit. Anecd.* IV 286.

La France Protestante doubts whether his Lucian was published, and conjectures that he was descended from Paul du Soul of Tours, professor of theology, rector of the academy of Saumur in 1657 and 1661. He says himself that his grandfather was professor there.

Agnew in his *French protestant exiles* omits him entirely.

Note in Tonson's edition of Plutarch's lives V 456 *b* 457 *a* (Lond. 1724 4to) *ἄνδρας εὐνούχους*. Sic in act. apost. VIII 27 *ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ* de eunucho reginae Candaces praedicatur. non uideram hunc Plutarchi locum, cum dissertationem academicam edidi, quam cl. Rhenferdius *syntagmati* suo *dissertationum de stylo n. test.*[2] inserere dignatus est. uide pag. illius syntagmatis 308 et seq. et, tanto post interuallo, quis ille Solanus sit, disce. ita enim Latine nomen meum adscripseram, auum secutus, qui in academia Salmuriensi uirorum clarissimorum collega, nullis tamen ipse scriptis publice editis claruit. ib. 457 *a* ego ad

[1] No more valuable addition to folk-lore could be made than by an edition of the hexaēm. of Basil and of Ambrose, annotated by a widely read classical scholar, by a master of mediaeval legend, and by a zoologist. May not the tradition of marsupial seals, etc. point to some extinct species?

[2] Leouardiae 1702, 4to. Mosis Solani, Fontinaea Galli, dissertatio philologica de stylo N. Testamenti, contra Seb. Pfochenium, fills pp. 261—316. He speaks (p. 266) with due admiration of Thomas Gataker, who had also written against Pfochen. Du Soul cites his dissertation on Luc. de morte Peregr. 13 (III 338 a), Dem. enc. 33 fin. (ib. 516 a).

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Lucianum *de salt.* c. 10. aliquid etiam annotaui, quod quando in lucem proditura sit nescio.

ibid. p. 452 *b* he explains προσθήκην 'hominem qui alteri se ita addixit, ut per se nihil agat. Angli *a property* dicunt; Galli interdum *dupe* eiusmodi hominem vocant, aliquando *créature*. Romani *obnoxios*, Taciti praesertim aetate appellabant.'

Du Soul wrote the preface to the reader before vol. I dated 1 May 1727, and another notice about various readings dated 5 Apr. 1728. The title is dated 1729. Augustine Bryan, the original editor, died 6 April 1726, leaving notes only for 17 pages of vol. III, and for the remainder brief marginal notes on a copy of Estienne's edition. ad me, ruri in otio litterario degentem, uentum est, aliis quidem studiis longeque diuerso operi intentum, sed huic fauentem, ex quo tot rei publicae litterariae omniumque adeo ordinum hominibus reditura uidebam commoda. . . . . accepi itaque prouinciam, a uiro docto et graui in primis oblatam, cui si ipsi rem in se suscipere per grauiora negotia licuisset, non sensisset resp. litteraria detrimenti quicquam editoris morte ad se hac in editione peruenisse. ego uero, re intellecta, publicis commodis hac in parte non deesse, officii mei esse duxi; missisque ad tempus aliis omnibus, totum me huc accinxi.

He says that one or two conversations with Bryan, as well as his writings, proved him to be a man of modesty.

He inquires into the reasons for the neglect of Greek, which in the 16th century was studied night and day even by princesses. One reason is the awkward arrangement, by roots, adopted by the lexicons; another the want of Greek-English, Greek-French etc. lexicons (he cites his article on this head, *nouvelles litteraires* XI); and a third the use of editions with latin versions. Any one who would carefully read Greek texts, collate them with the best editions, consult lexicons and note peculiar uses of words in the margin, become familiar with

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great classics by repeated reading, would soon become a critical scholar. spondeoque paucis annis futurum, ut magna cum uoluptate magnoque cum fructu, quoscumque opus fuerit, euoluere et intellegere libros Graecos possint.

In vol. III 548 *a* he takes an early opportunity of comparing the tyranny of Sulla's troops with the *dragonnades:* insolentiam, crudelitatem, fastum lautitiasque horum hominum experti norunt Galli reformati nostri, qui sub Ludouico XIV milites, Draconum nomine insignitos, hospitio Sullanum in morem excipere, donec sacris Romanis nomen darent, cogebantur. p. 561 *b* owls used (in the writer's time) as decoys in hawking.

His studies on Lucian ibid. 577 *a*: phrasis est Luciano admodum familiaris, mihique adeo notissima, qui scriptori tersissimo operam dedi nondum publici iuris factam, sed quando d. Hemsterhusio otium erit, eadem in palaestra sudanti, in lucem tandem emittendam.

Who was first invited to continue Bryan's work I know not, unless it were Thomas Bentley[1], who writing to his uncle, says (*Corresp.* 640) of mss. which he examined at Paris: "The chief was Plutarch; I had promised Mr Bryan to see what mss. there were of that author. I found admirable ones that surprised me. I collated one that has only pieces of about 7 or 8 lives quite through, far better than any Xylander or H. Stephens had. From that, and two more that have all the lives, and two of the morals, very old indeed, I would undertake to correct Stephens's Plutarch in 20 thousand places."

In a later letter, 25 March [1726], from Rome (pp. 652—3) he is still engaged on Plutarch:

"There is one or two of the lives, and 2 or three of the morals that are old; as good, or near it, as those at Paris . . . But what can a body do with such great books, where they

[1] Monk II 240—1 "Both at Paris and at Rome he devoted much of his time to collating Greek manuscripts of Plutarch, of which author he meditated an edition, and received encouraging offers from some booksellers."

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only allow the use of them for 3 hours in a morning, and that but 5 times a week, or but 3 or 4 times? for all holidays etc. are vacancies . . . At that rate it would take one 4 or 5 years to go through all Plutarch's works.

"I could like well enough to do those at Paris, where they gave me a room to myself, and the ms. to go to when my appetite came. But, at the best, 'tis a terrible piece of work, and too much for my shoulders; and yet I like the encouragement, and don't want inclination . . . If you'd be pleased to get some good scholar to write the notes and correct the version, and afterwards the press, and take all the trouble of the publication, and all the glory! and then get me money enough to procure 2 or 3 assistants (Mico is dead, but there's an able young man in his place) I'll undertake the business. And I see enough here, besides Florence and Venice (the books of cardinal Bessarion) and Paris, to set Plutarch right in innumerable places." (pp. 656—7) "I have had some reflexions about Plutarch, that I shall make you acquainted with next post; and if you should have occasion to write or speak about that matter, I beg you'd forbear till you get my next letter."

The next letter (Rome 24 Apr. 1726, pp. 659, 660) "I . . . have spent my time at home . . . reading now and then one of Plutarch's moral treatises . . . But as to the business of undertaking an edition of him, I have laid aside all thoughts of that . . . What if I should want health after I have taken the money and am engaged and obliged to go on? Besides, I don't care to stay from home so long a time as is required; . . . but most of all, I am not fit for it: I have not read enough. How many of the Greek and Latin authors are there that I have scarce ever tasted!"

Bentley boasts (Christmas Day 1712, *Corresp.* 449): "And the publick press (which had lately been projected and founded solely by myself, and purchased and endowed solely by my

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friends) was full of learned books in several languages and sciences."

It is therefore probable that Du Soul was encouraged by Bentley to print his specimen of Lucian at our press in Febr. 1708; that when Bryan died (in the very year that Thos. Bentley gave up the thought of editing Plutarch), Bentley suggested Du Soul's name to Tonson, as before perhaps to the Wetsteins for their projected Lucian. Indeed the fame of Bentley may well have drawn the learned refugee to Cambridge in 1700, where he saw the opossum.

Reitz in his preface to Lucian, dated Utrecht 1 March 1743, I p. II cum spectatae diligentiae doctrinaeque uir, MOSES DU SOUL (sive SOLANUS, ut ipse se scribere amat) satis diu in emaculando Luciano occupatus notas suas ad eum plane descriptas ac praelo paratas reliquisset, vel hoc nomine egregie commendabilem futuram cernebam editionem, si solis horum duorum, GESNERI ac SOLANI accessionibus ditatam emitterem.

ibid. p. III dein plurimum omnium usus sum *Juntina* Graeca, Venetiis anno 1535 excusa... In huius margine *Solanus* omnes a se collectas uarietates tam codicum mss. quam decem et nonnumquam plurium editionum, diligenter et nitide consignauerat; sed charactere adeo minuto, ut aciem oculorum diutius inhaerentis lectoris obtunderent. quibus autem codicibus ille usus fuerit, et quo scribendi compendio iidem aeque ac editiones in notis et uariantibus lectionibus adlegatae designentur, ad finem huius praefationis indicabimus.

ibid. p. VI uariantium autem lectionum sat amplum catalogum ab *Solano* in ed. Juntinam, ut supra monui, collatum, totum describere lectorique exhibere, interdum et alias ab eo omissas addere, non sum ueritus, ut adpareret quanta diligentia editionum codicumque collatio sit instituta.

ibid. p. X scholiasten uero totum manu describere sumus coacti, quia plurima erant emendanda,...plurima longe alio ordine collocanda et integra scholia persaepe ad alios dialogos

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referenda, ad quod tamen doct. *Solani* diligentia uiam iam munierat, singula numeris distinguendo, et uarias lectt. ex codd. Anglicis adiciendo, atque utrumque *Vossianum* codicem conferendo.

ibid. p. XI Luciani uitam promiserat *Solanus;* nec dubitabam quin eam iam confecerit, cum ab anno 1720 quo se suas ad Lucianum notas typographo tradidisse scriptum reliquit, uel saltem ab anno 1723, quo additamenta etiam quibus eas auxit, ad finem se perduxisse testatur, satis spatii ad id praestandum habuisse uidetur; decennio enim et amplius superuixit. Thus we learn that he was living after 1733. I have not found the precise year of his death, but Gesner says that he procured from the Leipzig spring fair 1737 his corrected copy of the Latin version. His death therefore must fall between 1733 and 1737.

ibid. p. XIII Mosis Solani syllabus notarum.

ibid. p. XIV M. du Soul, sive Solani, monita. Editiones Luciani, quibus usi sumus. Codices collati. p. XV M. du Soul transcribed various readings from the codex Jensianus in 1707. pp. XV—XVII the codex Marcianus (in 1722 in the possession of "uir egregius Lucianique studiosissimus Bridges J. C. Anglus") was partly collated by du Soul, and some new scholia copied "praeloque cum reliquis parata 1707."

Letter from J. M. Gesner to J. F. Reitz, Göttingen 18 Febr. 1743 (ibid. p. XXIII XXIV; I have found myself anticipated in the notes, e.g. of Elsner) tum frequentissime in his, quae uir doctissimus MOSES SOLANUS commentatus est. huius uiri obseruata adeo saepe cum nostris congruere deprehendi, postquam emendata ab illo interpolataque Luciani interpretatio ad me missa est, ut interdum optauerim pudoris mei causa, ne factum esset, quod optimo consilio factum noui, ut illud monumentum diligentiae uiri clari ad me mitteretur. It was from the Leipzig fair held in the spring of 1737 that an imperfect copy of the Latin Lucian (probably of Frankf. 1538 fol.) came into Gesner's hands. Illud porro exemplum manu *Solani* eleganti et nitidula, quae animum etiam bene compositum indicet, correctum et

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interpolatum est eo haud dubie consilio, uti traderetur typographis....annotationis plane nihil, litteram nullam Graecam, libro huic adscripsit uir doctissimus: quem librum in bibliotheca academiae nostrae publica reposui, ut si qui uel iam uiuentes uel posteri adeo requirere uelint, in quantum mihi cum Solano conueniat, suis possint oculis fidem habere. qui hoc agere uolent, illi collatis nostris annotationibus intellegent facile, non minus saepe nobis conuenire in eis libellis, quorum ego interpretationem a Solano correctam oculis usurpare non potui, quam in aliis: conuenire nobis saepe in annotationibus, quarum ego plane nullam umquam uidi ante, quam typis expressae ad me uenirent: conuenire in illa encomii Demosthenis restitutione, de qua T. III p. 511 seq. conuenire tamen ita, ut appareat, duo esse, qui unum egerint, ambo familiares Luciano, ambo non nouicios in hoc genere studiorum, sed qui suam sibi uiam teneant, non opus habeant semper alios respicere. Gesner could not pay a higher compliment to the independence of Du Soul's work, than by thus placing it on a level with his own.

In February 1708 (I suppose 170$\frac{7}{8}$) Du Soul printed at Cambridge a specimen of his Lucian. There is no copy in the public library; possibly no copy has survived. On the Hermotimus c. 27 (I 767 a) he records his conjecture ἢ δέον for ἡδέως and adds: hanc emendationem inter insigniores in specimine quod anno 1708 a me Cantabrigiae editum est, locum suum tueri uolui. On the Timon c. 26 (I 139) is another emendation from the specimen. On the Hermotimus c. 77 he points out that Le Clerc in his Menander, published September 1709, had filched a third emendation: cum ego iam in specimine meo, quod prodiit mense Februar. anni 1708, publici iuris feceram.

He hoped to publish an edition of Lucian, for which he was preparing a life of the author (pro mercede cond. 1 I 705 b): sed haec cum ceteris eodem spectantibus, fusius explicata dabuntur a me, Deo fauente, in ea quam paro, *Luciani uita*, huic editioni praemittenda. cf. on bis acc. 27 (II 824 b).

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Gesner on Demosth. encom. 29 (III 512 a) says that when he communicated to Hemsterhuis an emendation, "Is, sibi quoque eam in mentem uenisse, mihi respondit, et a *Mose du Soul* etiam sibi plures ante annos demonstratam, docuit." ibid. 33 (III 514 b) a lacuna pointed out by du Soul. innotuisse tamen et uiro docto in Germania ex cl. *Hemsterhusio* audio an. 1723.

In the latter part of 1722 and in 1723 we find Du Soul at the Hague. He may have gone to Holland to negotiate with the Wetsteins. Luc. Hippias 6 (III 72 a, Turkish baths) non iacebant tantum nudi, sed et uolutabantur. nunc etiam in oriente a balnei ministro artus fricantur, extenduntur, premuntur et quassantur. quod ab eruditiss. Syro Theochari Dadichi nunc Hagae comitum (ann. MDCCXXII desinente) sitim orbis uisendi explente; a quo uiro aliquando, si Deus uitam et post labores tot itinerum studiorumque exantlatos requiem concesserit, magna orbi litterato et curiosa exspectanda sunt, quibus et ueterum scriptis lux magna accedat, et artes historiaque recentiorum saeculorum excolantur. Macrob. 27 (III 228 a) addi meretur qui hoc ipso mense Febr. (dum notas hasce tandem aliquando edendas relego) decessit an. MDCCXXIII *Joh. Ernestus Scholts* eques, qui olim sub Carolo Gustauo Sueciae rege inter eius praetorianos militauit. is in Saxonia natus Martii XII anni 1608, Risuici prope Hagam comitum degens, ad extremum usque prospera usus ualetudine, die quaque dominica pedes Hagam, ubi haec scribo, ueniebat et remeabat, ut sacris interesset more Lutheri reformatorum. ultra L annos rude donatus et stipendio publico gaudens ad CXIV usque annum uitam produxit.

Du Soul cites unedited mss. of Jo. Masson *e.g.* eunuch. 3 (II 353 b), 7. (357 a).

We find frequent notices of contemporary scholars. Thus Demosth. enc. 33 f. (III. 516) resque ipsa restitutionem hanc abunde confirmabit, quam ante annos uiginti a me repertam

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non meis tantum libris adscripseram, sed in codice uiri doctiss. *Joh. Laughton* bibliothecae Cantabrigiensi praefecti, amicitiae causa: non tanto post interuallo in lucem prodituram mea opera Lucianum putans, annotaueram his verbis...

James Upton hist. conscr. 1 (II 3a) 4 (ib 6 a) locum hunc, qui me diu torserat, aperuit tandem uir doctus *Jac. Uptonus*, ostenso, ad quem alludit, Homeri loco.

Richard Mead ib. 15 (II 22 b) res obseruata medico summo huius aetatis *Richardo Mead*...uide librum quem Anglice *de peste* edidit, Latine etiam in exterorum gratiam in Hollandia excusam.

William Cave Philopatris 23 (III 611 b) uir multis nominibus reuerendus.

William Sherlock Jup. trag. 50 (II 697 b) qui rem pertractatam uidere uolent, Sherlockii *de prouidentia* librum adeant, qui Anglico idiomate conscriptus Gallice etiam nuper uersus in omnium manibus uersari meretur. Possibly the French version was from Du Soul's pen.

John Asgill, not named, but plainly described (ib. 698) where Du Soul speaks of scoffers of the day. sic...repertus nuper apud Anglos nostros qui immortalitatem animarum totamque adeo religionem Christianam nefario uolumine, dum fingit se morti non obnoxium in caelum translatum iri, scommatis perpetuis ab ouo, ut aiunt, usque ad mala rideret: homo in Hibernia primum, deinde et in Anglia tandem notatus.

Ez. Spanheim de sacrif. 11 (I 534 a) uir harum et omnium bonarum artium indagator sagax.

ib. 14 (537 b) uir multis de causis nobilissimus.

Graevius pro lapsu inter salut. 13 (I 736 a) ab eruditissimo Graevio, quo nemo harum rerum peritior, dum in uiuis erat, hunc locum doleo non fuisse illustratum.

J. de la Faye Timon 1 (I 99 b) annotatum margini Timonis a *Tan. Fabro* editi penes doctiss. uirum *Joh. de la Faye*.

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William Lloyd hist. conscr. 35 (II 47 b) in Olympionicarum [catalogo] ab erudito *Gul. Lloyd* (eruditissimi Wigorniensis episcopi filio) edito nuper cum haec scriberem. uer. hist. II 22 (ib. 119 b) consule *Lloyd,* honoratissimi praesulis Wigorniensis doctissimum et ipsum filium. Du Soul was personally acquainted with the bishop, as we learn from conuiu. 16 (III 430) schol. *προπίνω σοι Μαρίας τῆς θεοτόκου*: legi autem, si usquam, meretur scholium quod ad haec uerba monachus haud dubie uinosus adscripsit, unde disces ab iis *sanitatem beatae uirginis strenue potari solitam.* quid non ebrietas designat? quot bibendi incitamenta quaeruntur! salus praesentium, absentium amicorum, amicarum, patronorum, et apud nos Anglos regum ecclesiaeque ipsius. *pudet haec opprobria nobis* cet. hoc scholium cum olim praesuli uenerando et eruditione omnibusque probis artibus illustri Loidio Vigorniensi episcopo ostenderem, 'Nos ergo' inquit 'non primi eam insaniam insanimus! et imprudentes exempla sequimur hominum saeculorumque uilissimorum!'

Du Soul several times cites his own translation made in conjunction with Brutel de la Rivière (Amst. 1722 5 vols. 12mo. ib. 1726 7 vols.) of a book which has passed through very many editions, even in this century.

Luc. Herodot. 1 (I 833 a) quae etiam nobilissimi scriptoris *Humphredi Prideaux* sententia est; quem uide p. I l. VI, Gallicae autem a me factae uersionis T II p. 206. cf. Alexand. 44 (II 250 b). de morte Peregr. 21 (III 351 b) at the end of a note: consule eruditissimi *H. Prideaux,* quae post haec scripta prodiit, historiam toto iam Christiano orbe notissimam.

Thomas Irson, the Maskelyne of Charles the second's time. Alexand. 26 (II 234 a description of the oracle of Alexander) simili artificio callidus Anglus, quem ipsi uidimus, *Thomas Irsonus,* caput ligneum loquax concinnarat, quo, ut ipse narrabat, tota Caroli II aula et rex ipse uiso obstupuit. immurmurabat spectatorum aliquis ori istius capitis hianti uerba, quae

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in buccam uenerant, quacumque libitum erat lingua; quo facto mox responsum eadem lingua et ad rem accommodatissimum ex ligneo capite reddebatur. percrebuerat iam per totam urbem monstri fama. frequentes ad tantae rei miraculum, data pecunia quisque, aduolant. nec dubium quin breui de rebus arcanis futurisque tam doctum caput consulendum fuerit (quidni enim lignum loquax et futura et arcana pandere ualeat?) cum subito adulescens, ex nobilium famulitio, qui tum spectabant, in proxime adiacens cubiculum irrepens hominem os tubo admouentem et clamantem conspicit; neque ullis muneribus et promissis deterreri poterat, quin tantum arcanum diuulgaret. innotuit itaque fraus et patuit sacerdotem pontificium, multarum linguarum hominem, capiti oracula, auditis per tubum e conclaui proximo quaestionibus, dictasse et re uera inspirasse. rem totam *Irsonus* ipse ante aliquot annos uiro nobili, me audiente, narrabat.

Once or twice Du Soul has matter of interest to the English lexicographer; he often takes occasion to call himself an Englishman. hist. conscr. 41 (II 54 b) *διανοίας ἀκριβοῦς καὶ ἀδεκάστου* Angli aptissime per *unbiassed* exprimunt.

Bryan's Plutarch IV 564 b *ἑτερόφθαλμος* non est *unoculus*, sed qui *uarios oculos habet*, aut coloris alter ab altero diuersi.... Galli *cheval vairon* eiusmodi equum uocant, Angli *wall-eyed*.

I do not know who is meant Hermotim. 80 (I 824 b) non possum hic cum uiro eximio et de me optime merito sentire, qui haec de alio philosopho dicta uult.

Du Soul often speaks of curiosities, of nature or art, which he has seen. Thus of the sand-glass in pulpits de merc. cond. 35 (I 694 b) solebant enim ea aetate rhetores orationum suarum tempus clepsydris metiri, quod etiamnum a multis sacris contionatoribus apud uarias Europae gentes obseruatur, eo tamen discrimine, quod nostrae *harena*, ueterum clepsydrae (quod et etymon docet) *aqua* tempus metiebantur.

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The *Spectator* somewhere denounces the employment, by women of fashion, of male ladies-maids. cf. ibid. 32 f. (I 690 b) *τῷ τῆς δεσποίνης κομμωτῇ*. subit hic mirari, quod apud nostrum feminae, non feminarum ad eam rem, sed uirorum opera iam tum utebantur; quod ante quam hic loci animaduertissem, Gallicis solis nostris nobilibus feminis, post *Christinae* Suecorum reginae apud eas aduentum, saeculi nostri summo probro, factitatum putabam, ut uiris iam, non ornatricibus, ut saltem ea parte modestiae consulerent, uterentur.

ibid. 10 (I 665 a) Swiss porters. ut nempe reges magnatesque hodierni nostri *Heluetios* suis ianuis praeficiunt, ita et Romani usi fuerunt Syris.

de gymn. 27 (II 909 a) ridet Constantinus lexicographus, uir de Graecis litteris optime meritus, eos qui usum globorum plumbeorum in saltu aliquem esse putant (u. *ἁλτῆρες*). hinc ubicumque occurrunt *ἁλτῆρες* usum illum praestantes, rescribere iubet *ἁλκτῆρες*, quo pertica designatur, qua saltus haud dubie iuuatur. hanc uiri docti rationem uel unicus hic Luciani locus subuertit. adde quod nostra quoque aetate quibusdam in locis mos ille antiquus obtinet. uidi ipse in Scotia saltu certaturos, aut globulis ferreis in eam rem utentes, aut, si ad manum non essent, lapides aequi quam maxime ponderis conquirentes. hos aliquando cum uibrassent, in ipsa iam saltus micatione post tergum reiciebant, ne se scilicet degrauarent; eisque impetum iuuari, usu se didicisse profitebantur.

Hippias 2 (III 67 b) exstare Venetiis audiui instrumentum ustorium ad quingentos usque passus uim suam exerens.

Philops. 17 (III 45 a) an iron ring, made of the nails of a cross, used as a charm. caue et hoc ad Christianos referas, nondum eo fatuitatis dicam an superstitionis deuolutos, ut ligno uirtutem tribuerent. circulatores isti nempe faciebant quod hodieque fere a stultis hominibus fit, qui suspensorum adipi, et cui non rei, uirtutem magicam affingunt. pudet in tanta Christianismi luce huiusmodi etiamnum superstitiones, ab ipsis

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derisas ethnicis, apud ipsos reformatos multis in locis conspici, quos Romanensibus relinqui par erat, inter quos tot monachis aliisque quaestui sunt.

muscae encom. 6 fin. (III 96 a) a fly long survives decapitation. papilionem memini capite amputato ultra septiduum uitae signa dedisse, motis, cum tangebatur, alis pedibusque humo firmiter adhaerentem. adde quae Aelianus de testudinis marinae capite similia profert IV 28.

macrob. 5 (III 211 a) of the Chinese *ὑδροποτεῖν γάρ φασι τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο σύμπαν.* theae usum huic genti hodieque familiarem respexisse uidetur; quamuis non inuitus concesserim, hac uoce uulgo abstinentiam a uino tantum designari. Tea was then known as China tea.

Saturnal. 8 (III 391) staking entire talents at the gambling-table. non igitur propria haec aetatis nostrae dementia. at rari olim aleatores, nunc omnes ferme eodem morbo laboramus; eoque res tandem deuenit, ut aleatoris consiliis regno uno decepto, in alias etiam nationes pestis ista grassata, multos exitio, omnes damno affecerit. rem tango posteris vix credibilem historicumque poscentem Thucydidi parem, ut qua ille peritia pestem Atheniensium descripsit; hic furorem epidemicum, qui in Europae praecipuas ingenio opibusque gentes nuper tantis cum cladibus per aliquot menses incubuit, mentesque lucri cupiditate ita occaecauit, ut, dum singuli diuitias summas ex nihilo prodituras exspectant, id quod erat opum misere perdiderunt, ab aleatore similibusque eius perditis hominibus miserum in modum emuncti, immo exenterati, ob oculos legentium, apud quos uix fidem inueniet, ponat. The arch-gambler is of course John Law.

de Syria dea 59 (III 489 a) *στίζονται* immo etiamnum mos ille ridiculus in illis regionibus obtinet. omnes enim, qui terram sanctam inuisunt Christiani, stigmata referunt, hic seruatoris in cruce pendentis, ille sepulchri, alius alterius alicuius rei itidem sacrae. quae superstitio non ridicula tantum, sed cum summo dolore coniuncta, quandoque etiam non sine ipsius uitae

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periculo est. in balneis itaque aliquando uideas, quorum corpora tota sacris illis figuris cooperta sunt; quoque plura stigmata gerunt, tanto sanctiores habentur: sancto enim titulo omnes decorant qui uel tantillum ridiculo isto sacro initiati sunt; sed longe facilius corpori notae inuruntur, quam, quae uera sanctitas est, animi maculae absterguntur.

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XII. On a Cameo representing Jupiter Dodonaeus. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A.

[May 22, 1882.]

M. Feuardent has at present (May, 1882) in his possession a cameo in agate-onyx of the exceptional dimensions of nearly 8 × 7 in., an oval in shape. The subject, in the style of the Antonine period, is a bust of Jupiter in front face, and very flat relief owing to the insufficient thickness of the layer of *cacholong* (white opaque calcedony) available for that purpose. The head is encircled with a wreath of *chestnut-leaves*, to declare his character of Dodonaeus (that tree being the real δρῦς of the most ancient of Grecian shrines), in contradistinction to the *laurel-crown* of the Olympian Jupiter. A portion of the god's other distinctive mark, the aegis, is seen covering the right shoulder.

In point of execution the relief neither surpasses nor falls below the usual mediocrity of its school; what is most to be commended in it being the treatment of the flowing and massy curls appropriated to that deity: which have all the softness and freedom of the same modelled in wax.

It is so rare, in Roman art, to find important camei dedicated to merely *ideal* representations, works involving such

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expense of time and labour, being almost invariably devoted to the glory of the reigning emperor, by deifying him in his portrait (of which numerous examples are still extant), that the calm majesty of Antoninus Pius may possibly be adumbrated in the features of the 'sire of gods and men'; and the designer, "cingens civili tempora quercû," in virtue of the particular type selected, ingeniously gave more point to the intended compliment.

The field of this cameo has been repolished to a degree of evenness unknown in the ancient *technique*; its margin likewise has been reduced to a regular oval for convenience of mounting in a metal frame (probably for insertion in the panel of a cabinet, the usual method of displaying objects of the sort after the revival of Art); but the face itself has fortunately escaped all such modern *improvement*. Taking into account the extraordinary magnitude of the slab of onyx, and its enormous value in antiquity, this cameo must be regarded as a specimen of much importance in its own department. But a very interesting point connected with it is the illustration its history affords of the singular depression in the selling-price of gems, which followed almost without gradation upon the frantic values they had commanded down to the second quarter of the present century: a circumstance to which I have, elsewhere[1], called the student's attention. In the year 1844, it was bought by the late Lord Northwick at the Thomas sale for the ridiculous sum of *six guineas*: but at the present moment it serves to shew that the thermometer of dilettanteship is fast rising to its former fever-heat, since the last owner (a Parisian) purchased it, a few years back, at nearly the same price at which it comes again into the market, namely four hundred pounds!

[1] See the Author's *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, s. v. History of Engraving.

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XIII. On some Etruscan Mirrors with Engraved Reverses. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[Nov. 6, 1882.]

The metallic hand-mirrors of the Etruscans, that are ornamented with designs in shallow outline (*graffiti*), cut with the graver upon their backs, are the peculiar manufacture of that, in all other branches of art, nation of copyists. The idea was evidently suggested by the large flat bowls decorated on the inside with an endless variety of mystic figures, executed by the same process, which the Phoenicians made and carried by camel-loads to the farthest regions of the East, whole *nests* of them being discovered in the buried palaces of Assyria, giving us to understand the nature of "the two bowls of *fine copper* more precious than gold" enumerated amongst the gifts of Artaxerxes to the Second Temple. The serious and gloomy temper of the Phoenician race strongly manifests itself in the decoration of these instruments of festivity; nothing appears in them except figures of deities, the animals that were their types, or else battle-pieces commemorating some great leader and his protecting god.

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But when those noted metallurgists of antiquity, the Etruscans, happily applied the same kind of embellishment to what, in all stages of civilisation, has been a necessary of life to the better half of the human race, they widened the range of subjects by admitting others more congenial with the destination of their ware. The cheerful mythology of the Greeks, learnt by the Tyrrhene artist from the vase-paintings imported from Corinth and Athens, enlivens the reverse of the mirrors of the better sort with the legends of Aphrodite and Dionysos; or, if more serious, with scenes drawn from the Epic Cycle; or, to come more to the point, with the fair owner of the mirror contemplating her charms in what, at the time, must have been a gift of price. These engravings, though without finish, and evidently dashed off with the greatest expedition, frequently display the touch of a master-hand in the freedom of the drawing, and the expressiveness with which they tell their story. But their chief value to *us* lies in the circumstance that the engraver, for the benefit of his semi-civilized but knowledge-craving customers, has, in many cases, added the *names* of the actors in his own language, and thereby handed down to us the most trustworthy of all the few clues that remain for the solution of that, as yet, desperate problem.

It is difficult to imagine why those most unreasoning of all creatures, the Italian antiquaries, gave for so long a time the name of *patera* to these relics, whereas that of '*padelle*' (in their own language) was so much better suited to their outward form. No liquid for libation could have been contained on their plane surface, except by a perpetual miracle vouchsafed by the gods whose images they bore, whereas the slight rim surrounding their reverse, and the long tail projecting from their circumference, give them to the vulgar eye only too much the look of a frying-pan.

This style of mirror-decoration is peculiar to the Etruscans: I have met with no example of the sort that can be attributed

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Plate I.

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to any other school of art except one discovered at Salamis, which represents similarly in outline, but very stiffly drawn, the elevation of the temple of Paphos, and which is of a semi-Phoenician character[1], rather than Greek. Indeed it would be rash to regard the place where it was found as affording any argument for its having been made in Greece; for Critias[2], the disciple of Socrates, praises the Etruscans as pre-eminent for their goldsmiths'-work and the making of all metallic articles for domestic use, and Pliny notices the 'Tyrrhena sigilla,' as diffused through every region of the world. In fact this method of adding elegance to the dressing-table seems to have been repugnant to Greek taste: at all events it is never found employed on mirrors of genuine Hellenic manufacture.

Their artists, on the contrary, expended all their skill upon the *mirror-cases*, flat circular boxes of silver or bronze, used for containing reflecting disks, unprovided with handles. The τορευτική, that is, repoussé-work in high relief (the invention of Phidias himself), may be found carried to its greatest excellence in some of these mirror-cases. Two incomparable examples of the style are the one in silver with a Bacchic group, at Florence, and the bronze in the collection of the British Museum, with the bust of Nereus and two sea-nymphs reclining on his bosom. A third, equally elaborate in design (Pl. I.), was obtained by Mr Lewis from the Charvet Collection. A Bacchus, evidently returning from the feast, hardly able to carry the thyrsus poised upon his shoulder, is supported by a well-grown Cupid (no longer the infant god): whilst a fully draped Muse walks before, playing upon the *cithara*, the peculiar attribute of *Erato*. Nothing can be better than the compact grouping of these figures, which are in half relief; but they retain something of the squatness of the archaic style.

[1] Figured and described in A. P. di Cesnola's *Salaminia*, page 59.

[2] Quoted by Athenæus, I. 50.

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This case, or properly speaking, *cover*, for the article had no underpart, being merely designed to protect a polished surface from injury, still contains its original *speculum*, irrevocably cemented to it by rust. A lively imagination may picture yet stamped upon the mirror the *spectrum* of the face last caught by it as the cover was pressed down over it for the last time, and for ever!

Another Grecian expedient for adding elegance to the simple article of the '*mundus muliebris*' was to support it by the Goddess of Love in person, by forming its handle into a graceful statuette of Aphrodite. There was lately in the possession of M. Feuardent a matchless specimen of such adaptation, in which twin Loves, supported upon the shoulders of their mother ('*Alma Mater* Cupidinum'), bear up between them the reflecting orb, in the same manner as our heraldic supporters do the shield. Sometimes, again, the handle is moulded into the form of a nude *ephebus*, shewing that its use was to throw back to its own gaze the youthful beauty of the male sex, to which the impartial taste of the ancients tendered equal homage with the other.

These preliminary remarks will, perhaps, be not unwelcome to persons hitherto unfamiliar with this branch of archaeology, before we proceed to the examination of the pieces that form the proper subject of this memoir. Like many others which have afforded me such pleasant and suggestive themes for elucidation, they are now added to the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

One of these mirrors (Pl. II.) presents us with a scene which at first sight suggests nothing more than the homely idea of an affectionate family party. We see a well-dressed lady 'of a certain age,' seated *vis à vis* to her son and daughter; the one seated, the other standing with her hand fondly laid upon her brother's shoulder: a wreath of bay-leaves makes a frame to the picture. But, on closer examination of the accessories to the *tableau*,

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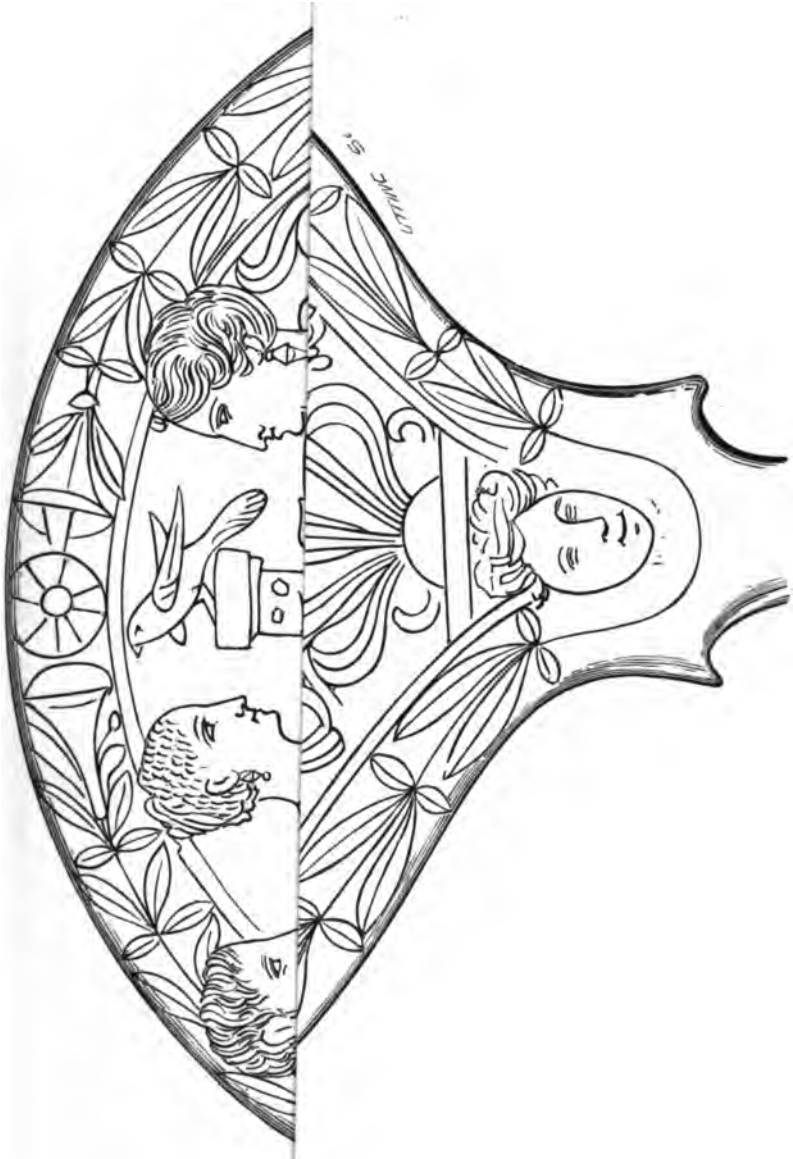

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Plate III.

SILVER LANX FOUND AT CORBRIDGE IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

(From the Archæological Journal.)

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we discover, in the centre, a *Doric column* supporting a *Raven*, Horace's 'Oscinem corvum' the established pictorial type of the Delphic Oracle—which together with the wreath from Apollo's own tree and the Artemisian arrangement of the maiden's hair, places it out of doubt that we have before us the Twin-deities resting at the place specially appropriated to the brother, and engaged in deep converse with Mother Earth, or else Themis, each of them the primaeval keepers of the oracular cavern. The Gorgon's head below, which at first sight appears inconsistent with the general character of these decorations, will be found on a deeper examination to give the strongest support to this theory; for Ion describes the omphalos as

στέμμασί γ' ἐνδυτὸν, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γοργόνες[1].

The wheel-like object, opposite to this in the leafy border, is the regular symbol of the sun-god, and completes the evidence required for the identification of the subject of the picture.

The scene is, in fact, an abridgement of the one fully carried out upon the celebrated Corbridge Lanx (Pl. III.); and it is highly interesting to compare this example of the manner of treating such subjects, as practised by the race from whom Rome derived the first principles of every art, with that exemplified by the magnificent *anaglyptum*[2] belonging to the period of her culminating glory. The Etruscan sketch has a pleasing simplicity about it, and the well-balanced composition

[1] Euripides *Ion* v. 224.

[2] An oblong silver dish, 20 × 15 in. and weighing 159 ounces. It bears in low relief Apollo standing under a tabernacle, addressing Themis seated, by whose side stands the Sibyl; then comes Minerva addressing Diana, who appears approaching. The central column supports a globe, but the raven is perched upon the wide-spreading *aesculus*, which preceded the bay-tree, as Ovid tells,

"aesculiae capiebant frondis honorem:
nondum laurus erat." (*Metamorph.* lib. I. *v.* 449.)

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of the group, with the judicious touch of the graver producing so much effect with such small expenditure of labour, evinces the taste of a true artist and the dexterity of a practised hand.

The picture just discussed needed no Oedipus to divine its meaning[1]; far different, however, is the question with the second mirror (Pl. IV.), now about to be described. The engraving represents, in an inferior style to the preceding, a youth, nude except for a scanty *chlamys* floating from his shoulders, mounted on a tall horse slowly cantering towards the spectator's left, but without any distinctive attribute to indicate whether of divine or mortal nature. The border is the wave-pattern, which so frequently (as on the coins of Tarentum and elsewhere) accompanies marine subjects, and the addition of the dolphin in the rider's rear proves that in this place it is no mere ornamental appendage. Subject and drawing coincide so closely with some lately found on Cyrenaic pottery[2], that all might well be supposed to come from the same period of art, if not from the same school. His work done, the artist was sensible that so indefinite a picture required further explanation, and as it could not tell its own tale, he has, with kindly intention, added an inscription; but has, unfortunately, so worded it as to make confusion worse confounded. He has written in the field, in front of the rider, EPKLE ΠANSTE (retrograde) for which the greatest authorities upon that unknown language have proposed solutions, utterly at variance with each other, and equally refuting themselves by their divergence from all of the kind yet observed and by their inapplica-

[1] Since writing the above, I find that Gerhard has published what appears to be the same subject (*Etruskische Spiegel*, pl. CCCLXXX. i.), but explains it as 'Paris and Helen'—an interpretation that, to the ordinary mind at least, seems the widest possible from the mark, being supported by no one detail in the picture, except the presence of a male and a female actor.

[2] Figured in the *Archaeologische Zeitung* for 1881, pl. 13.

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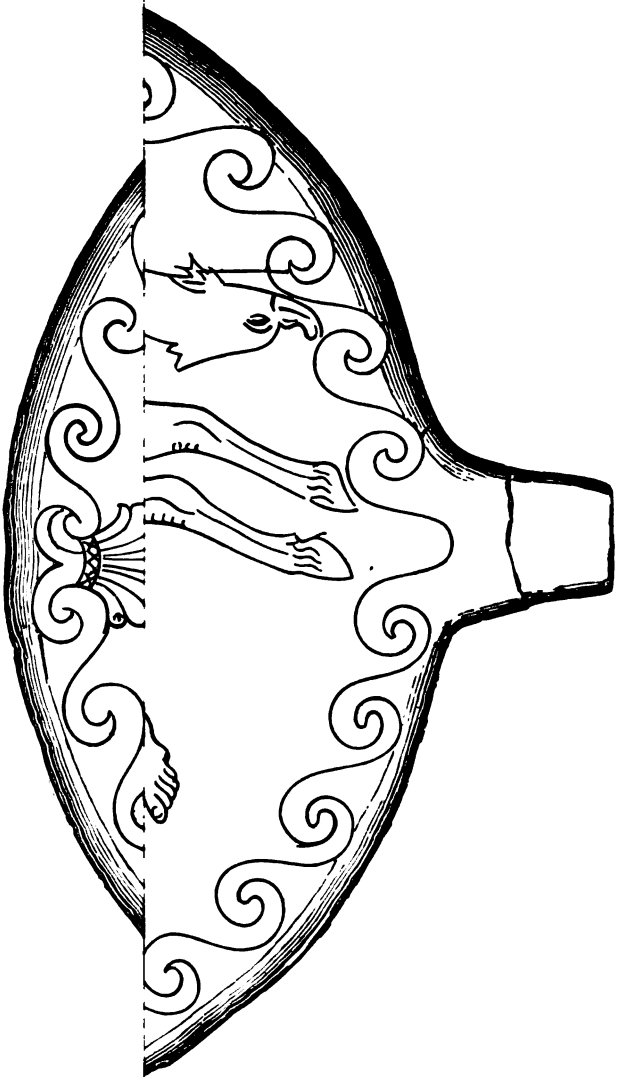

to face p. 190]

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bility to both subject and object—it would therefore be equally useless and invidious to quote them. The rational method of proceeding in such a matter, is first to examine the nature of other explanatory legends found in similar positions on Etruscan works of every kind, and from the result of such examination to lay down principles to guide us in the present difficulty. Now, it will be found to be the invariable rule, that the inscriptions simply give the *name* of the person or object to which they are attached; such a thing as the "artist's signature" (an explanation that has been hazarded in the case before us) is altogether without precedent. The deities are designated by the names of corresponding powers in the national mythology; Zeus, Hera, Hephaestos, Hermes, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Leto, &c., being translated as Tinia, Thalna, Sethlans, Mercur, Turan, Pupuns, &c., whilst the names of men are transliterated in so barbarous a fashion, docked and cropped, as 'Odysseus' into 'Ulxe,' 'Polydeukes' into 'Polluke[1],' 'Tydeus' into 'Tute,' &c., as to prove that the nature of the Tyrrhene speech sprang from totally different principles from the Hellenic; making the words suffer the same metamorphoses as afterwards in their transition from Latin into Celtic. Hence we are led to surmise that the two words on our mirror are the names of the man and of the horse; and one of them is just the form which might be expected in Etruscan to represent the Greek Herakles.

Although the demi-god does not appear as an equestrian in any piece of antique sculpture that has come down to our times, nevertheless it is certain that he must have figured in that character in some primeval legend. Sufficient proof is the wild story, related by Herodotus[2], of the stealing of his horse, as he was traversing the Scythian desert, by the woman-serpent, Echidna (the true 'Seraph-Nachash' of the Rabbins).

[1] The originals of their Latin forms, so strangely differing from the Greek.

[2] lib. iii. cap. 108.

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In the first draught of this essay[1] I had proposed an explanation of the mysterious ΠΑΝΣΤΕ, which though by no means satisfactory, seemed the most plausible solution of the problem; but which a fortunate discovery in the meantime has now enabled me to correct. At the recent sale of the Castellani Collection, Mr Lewis obtained a mirror (Pl. V.), which, though uninscribed, evidently represents a previous scene in the same legend; and may even have come from the same hand, so great is the similarity of workmanship. In this *graffito*, Hercules under the same extremely juvenile form, but recognisable by his club bow and lion's-hide which he has cast on the ground in the violence of his motions, is pulling down an unmistakeable *winged* Pegasus, ornamented, like the steed in the former tableau, with an open-linked chain passed round the neck. In the two pictures, therefore, the *actor* is the same—in the first, he is identified by the inscription; in the second, by the attributes: whence we have good reason to conclude that it is the same horse that appears in both the representations, and that *Panste* is but the strangely rendered Etruscan form of *Pegasus*. Many Etruscan sculptures were evidently inspired by legends (perhaps learned from the Dorians) now entirely lost: of course the feats of Hercules were multiplied and diversified without end by the story-tellers; and it is very conceivable that the exploits of Bellerophon were often transferred to the more celebrated demigod. One such *variant* may have been how that Hercules caught the Gorgonian horse, and as the most effectual method of breaking him in at once divested him of his wings, and used such a conveyance across the interminable plains of Scythia.

Another mirror (Pl. VI.), also from the Castellani Collection, is remarkable for the pictorial treatment of the group engraved upon it, and equally so for the curiosity of the details. It is the often-repeated subject of the Judgment of Paris. The

[1] The reference in *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 40, p. 36, *note* is to a proof copy of this preliminary draught.

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Plate V.

to face p. 192

[*C. A. S. Comm.* Vol. V. No. XIII.

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three competing goddesses are seen advancing towards the Idaean shepherd, making each of them the same gesture of salutation: he lifts his left hand, as if surprised at the unexpected visit, leaning with his right upon the pastoral ragged staff. Two are fully and elegantly draped; but the artist has thrown all his power into the nude figure of Venus, and has produced an outline of perfect beauty of form, as also in the half-figure of Love, which soars above his mother's head, as though lending force to her persuasions. He has also faithfully rendered the ornaments of an Etruscan *belle* of his own day—the large vase-shaped pendants in the ears; the necklace of big spherical gold beads; but, by an unusual omission no bangles on the arms; and the *sandals*, instead of the long-toed Etruscan shoe. A remarkable peculiarity in this point is the tight-fitting gauntlet of network which entirely covers the arms of the shepherd; and which doubtless represents a kind of rustic armour worn by the shepherds and hunters of Etruria. A ludicrous little pot-bellied Cupid is placed in the exergue, and a dove completes the artistic part of the design.

Much additional value is given to this relic by the clearly-cut inscriptions, which according to custom declare the names of the actors in the scene. Two of the goddesses retain their regular designation of MEURFA, and TURAN; but the third, instead of THALNA as usual, is here named UNI, which is altogether new to me in an Etruscan monument, although it is preserved in its Roman derivative *Iuno*. But it is in the transliteration of the Greek ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ that the ineffectual struggles of an Oriental pronunciation are most curiously manifested. The Tyrrhene has rendered the Ξ by that "broad-arrow" character of his own alphabet which represents the Greek X, followed by an S (just as the Roman X takes an S after it in some legends of consular date): the termination of the word he represents by TRE; which shows us how the Romans, who obtained their first knowledge of Grecian poetical

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names from the works of Etruscan artists, came to change the termination *dros* into *der*.

The design is framed within a wreath, not of the so frequent ivy, but of *myrtle*, in evident connection with the deity whose triumph it commemorates.

The more than ordinary task and labour expended upon the work sufficiently declares that this mirror was an *objet de luxe;* perhaps a wedding present from some wealthy *Lucumo* to his bride, in the days when Veii was as yet the formidable rival of Rome:

"vincere cum Veios posse laboris erat."

Not the slightest hint as to the manufacture of these very interesting works of art is to be found in ancient writers, except it be in the casual notice of Pliny[1] that "mirrors were *formerly* made at Brundisium until those of silver, first made in Pompey's time, came into common use even with the servant-wenches." The singular term 'temperabantur' probably hints at some trade-secret in the management of the alloy; for otherwise why should that remote town have had the monopoly of an article in such general demand, which could equally well have been made on the other side of Italy, in the furnaces of the copper mines on the Tuscan coast. Or one may suspect from Pliny's transition from the *bronze* to the *silver* that he is referring only to the superior class of the article in question, for it is hardly probable that the whole of Italy was dependent for its supply of this toilette-necessary upon a single place[2].

The analysis of these mirrors gives copper, tin, and a large

[1] Optuma apud maiores fuerant Brundisina, stanno et aere mixtis: praelata sunt argentea. primus fecit Pasiteles Magni Pompei aetate. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 9, § 45.

Specula etiam ex eo (*stanno*) laudatissima, ut diximus, Brundisi temperabantur, donec argenteis uti coepere et ancillae. *Ibid.* xxxiv. 17, § 48.

[2] Tarentum, however, was famous for the number and merit of the bronze statues that filled its *agora* and temples; hence the joke of Fabius, to evade their spoliation, 'Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods.'

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proportion of antimony—the last ingredient rendering the alloy very hard and brittle, and therefore susceptible of a higher polish. The modern "speculum-metal" employed for the mirrors in reflecting telescopes is made of copper, tin, and one per cent. of arsenic. Baron Pichon, with his usual kindly readiness to impart information upon questions of archaeology that interest us both, has sent me a recipe *Pour faire miroirs de fonte* extracted from a MS. of the 15th century written for Marguérite de Clèves, third wife of Charles d'Orléans. You are told to take 8 pounds of bell-metal (*arain*, for *leton*, i.e. *laiton*, latine or brass will not answer); add to this when in fusion 2 pounds of fine Cornish tin; remove the dross by burning on the surface a handful of linen-rag and skimming it carefully; then rub down the plate with emery-powder upon a table of lead, and give the final polish with fine *poudre d'estain* upon chamois leather in order to remove all scratches.

Pliny mentions the making of *glass* mirrors at Sidon, as an invention of his own times. Although he is apparently speaking of silver mirrors, when he states that gilding them on the back improves their power of reflection, yet the remark can only be intended for those of glass. These must have gradually superseded the ancient metal *specula*, for Dante, writing A.D. 1300, uses *vetro impiombato*, 'leaded,' or as we improperly say, 'silvered' glass[1], as a synonym for 'mirror'. Still the 15th century

[1] E quei: S'io fossi d' *impiombato vetro*
L'imagine di fuor tua non trarrei
Piu tosto me che quella dentro impetro.
Inferno, c. 23, v. 25.

Dante refers to the glass mirrors in two other places:

Così, come color torna per vetro
Lo qual diretro a sè piombo nasconde.
Paradiso, c. 2, v. 89.

E sè rivolve, per veder se 'l vetro
Gli dice 'l vero, e vede ch' el s' accorda
Con esso, come nota con suo metro.
Paradiso, c. 28, v. 8.

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recipe quoted above makes it appear that mirrors of the antique composition continued to be made down to a much later period than is commonly supposed. Steel highly polished seems also to have been employed for the purpose far down in modern times. No specimen can be quoted so conspicuous for historic interest and artistic also as the one made for the celebrated Isotta da Rimini (1440-50), preserved in the Soulages[1] collection. The metallic plate, 10 × 8 in. in measurement, is inclosed in a massy frame of walnut wood, exquisitely carved with heraldic bearings and other devices, amongst which the Malatesta elephant stands conspicuously forth. But more suggestive of the strangest and most opposite reminiscences of love, hatred, pleasure and death is the circular mirror in the same collection, ascribed to Lucrezia Borgia, on the authority of the flaming grenade, her well-known device, to be seen on the frame. In the wonderful arabesque covering the wood, all kinds of animals creep in and out amongst the foliage, in which also lurks the grisly skeleton, almost indispensable to Gothic art. On the back of the mirror appear the Virgin and Child, converting the whole, at pleasure, into an instrument of devotion.

The Byzantine poet, Symposius, has a riddle which runs as follows:

> 'Nulla mihi certa est, nulla est peregrina figura;
> Fulgor adest intus, radiata luce coruscans;
> Qui nihil ostendit nisi quod se viderit ante[2].'

Here the expression 'fulgor' seems more applicable to a reflector in metal than in glass.

Truly there is nothing new under the sun: for Statius sings of an anticipated Daguerreotype, when he describes in high-flown strains how Earinus, Domitian's favourite eunuch, despatches his votive curls inclosed in a jewelled casket, to his

[1] Now in the South Kensington Museum.

[2] *Poetae Latini*, ed. Maittaire, vol. II. page [1611], *Aenigm.* LXIX.

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national deity at Pergamus, who had at first qualified him for so enviable a position by means of a painless operation. At the command of Venus, Cupids act as the tonsors, using their arrows in lieu of scissors, and as they are shutting up the box, one of them lays hold upon the second Ganymede's mirror, with his last look imprinted therein:

"Tum puer e turba, manibus qui forte supinis
Nobile gemmato speculum portaverat auro,
'Hoc quoque demus, ait, patriis non gratius ullum
Munus erit templis ipsoque potentius auro;
Tu modo fige aciem, et vultus hos usque relinque.'
Sic ait, et speculum reclusit *imagine rapta*[1]."

This pleasing picture has, however, an ugly reverse, and his rival Martial tells how the same article might become a fatal weapon in the hands of an irascible beauty:

'Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum
Annulus, incerta non bene fixus acu.
Hoc facinus Lalage speculo quo viderat ulta est,
Et cecidit sectis icta Plecusa comis.
Desine iam Lalage tristes ornare capillos,
Tangat et insanum nulla puella caput:
Hoc salamandra notet, vel saeva novacula nudet,
Ut digna speculo fiat imago tuo[2].'

Although mirrors of metal turn up abundantly in Italian soil, and in fact appear for many centuries to have accompanied their mistress to the tomb as a distinction of sex, just as the housewife's badge, the thimble, did throughout the Middle Ages[3], yet we very rarely hear of such a discovery being made in a Roman-British interment. Even if we suppose that the high value of the implement (necessarily of foreign importation) caused it to be retained for use in the *present* world, yet speci-

[1] Statius, *Silv.* III. 4. 95.

[2] Martial, *Epigr.* II. 66.

[3] They are plentifully found in disturbing the earth of old churchyards, and are short and open at the top, like those still used by tailors. Similarly a miniature chalice and paten of pewter distinguish the last resting-place of the mass-priest.

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mens, accidentally lost, would certainly have come to light amongst the other relics of Roman habitation, had these articles been in general use amongst the provincials[1]. We must therefore suppose that our insular fair ones were forced, like the shepherd in Virgil, to content themselves with the present Irishman's shaving glass—a tub of clear water—whenever they wished to arrange their 'cerulean tresses,' as Propertius[2] strangely calls them.

I have been able to find one record of the exhumation of a regular mirror, which is of the highest interest both in itself and in the concomitant circumstances of its discovery. It is of genuine Celtic manufacture, for the back is adorned with two combinations of those weird involved circles, that are the distinguishing characteristic of Irish ancient metal-work (Pl. VII.). It was found in 1833 at Trelan Bahow, Cornwall, in a prehistoric cemetery on the slope of a hill in the district of St Keverne's, in company with bronze rings plated with gold, bronze pins and bracelets, but also (a most remarkable fact) with *stone implements*. These circumstances render it possible that the mirror was the importation of some Gallic or Phœnician trader, and the peculiar decoration merely the addition of the purchaser to adapt the object to the national taste.

But mirrors were put to a higher use by the ancients than that of affording agreeable reflections to the feminine mind;

[1] A remarkable specimen was lately brought to light in company with other relics of the Roman period, and is now preserved in the museum, at Cologne. It is a bronze mirror-case, 3 inches in diameter, having in the centre a very fine impression of a first brass coin of Nero struck without reverse from a die, and surrounded by three sunken mouldings forming a frame for the relief, in the way that the medallions are occasionally seen completed. This fact proves that plaques, thus stamped, were produced at the imperial mint for the purpose of ornamentation only. Similarly *solidi* of the family of Constantine are extant, struck on the obverse alone, evidently for jewellery. This mirror-case is accurately figured in the Journal of the Rheinland Antiquarian Society, Vol. LXXI, Pl. 11.

[2] Cf. *Eleg.* III. ix. 31.

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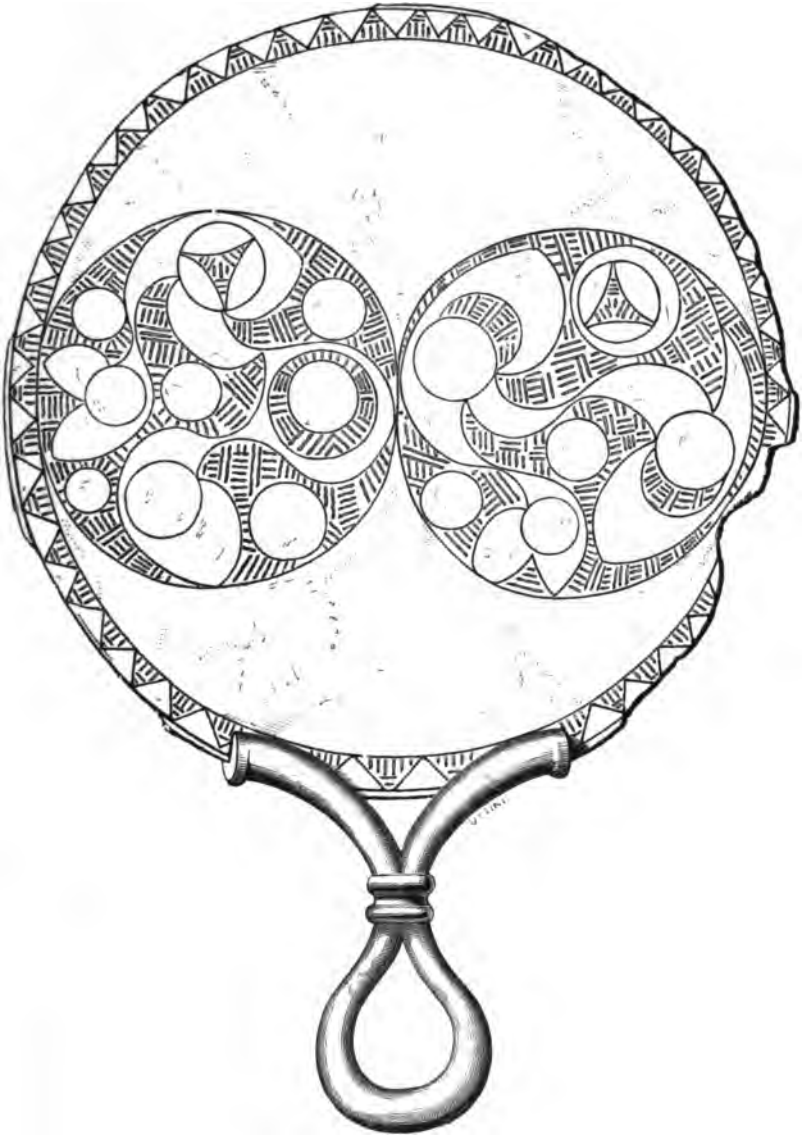

MIRROR FOUND AT TRELAN BAHOU, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Scale ½.
(From the *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. xxx. page 267.)

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they were made the means of prying into the future. Spartian[1] relates how the unlucky Didius Julianus, terrified at the rise of three powerful competitors at once for his dearly bought throne, after exhausting all the resources of authorised religion had recourse in his last distress to unhallowed expedients, and amongst others to that in which "a boy, with eyes blindfolded, is "made to look into a *mirror*, in which, as it is reported, the boy "beheld the approach of Severus, and the downfall of Julian." The same instrument, so convenient for all the inventions of jugglery, continued the favourite resource of magicians until their trade came to an end. To say nothing of Cornelius Agrippa and his wondrous looking-glass, we may still view with awe in the Londesborough collection the actual 'shew-stone' into which the Cromwellian conjuror, Kelly, "did call his spirits"; or as Hudibras expresses it:

> "Kelly did all his tricks upon
> The Devil's looking-glass—a stone;
> Where, playing with him at bo-peep,
> He solved all problems, ne'er so deep"

It is in reality one of those mirrors that the old Mexicans cut so ingeniously out of that obdurate material, obsidian; of an oval shape, with a high raised margin to protect the polished surface. It is difficult to imagine how the copper-coloured beauties of Montezuma's court contrived to 'see themselves as others see them' in so dusky a medium; Pliny remarks of the obsidian, that it was much in request for panelling walls, but that it reflected *shadows* and not *images*.

The mention of enchanted mirrors brings us down to a variety of the species, still commonly to be met with, although here all the *magic* lies in a curious artifice of the metal-worker. These are the Chinese mirrors of some mixed metal, having the reverses decorated with inscriptions, flowers, and

[1] *Didius Julianus*, cap. vii.

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birds in low relief, whose exact images appear in the reflection cast by the mirror under a strong light. These remarkable effects greatly puzzle ordinary spectators; but the most probable explanation is a very simple one—that the effect is produced by long hammering of the relievo figures, which either condenses the corresponding portions of the entire plate, thereby causing the surface to reflect the rays of light differently from the densified parts, or else that the surface is slightly elevated in such places, not sufficiently indeed to be perceptible to the touch, but sufficiently so as to produce a slight variation of light and shade.

APHRODITE HOLDING A MIRROR.

Egyptian Bronze from Thebes, figured to the size of the original (in the collection of Mr Lewis).

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XIV. Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-Book, with some particulars of School and College Expenses in the 16th and 17th Centuries.

Communicated by the Rev. E. K. Bennet, D.C.L., of University College, Oxford.

[February 19, 1883.]

The MS. from which these notes are taken is one of a large collection of family records in the muniment room of Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, Bart., M.P., of Shadwell Court, in the county of Norfolk. It is a long narrow folio of 138 pages, filled throughout with domestic memoranda in one handwriting, chiefly of money payments and receipts, extending over a period of 46 years from 1584 A.D.; and, interesting as many of these entries are, they are the more valuable in that we are able from other sources of information not only to identify the writer, but to assure ourselves of his exact place in the society of his time.

Richard Wilton, of Topcroft Hall, in the county of Norfolk, was descended from an ancient Yorkshire family, of whom a younger branch settled in Norwich about the middle of the 15th century; and, engaging there in the trade of which Norwich was then one of the great centres, became of eminence among the great merchants of that city. A stately monument

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in S. Peter's Mancroft Church, bearing the arms of the Wilton and Windham families, appears by this MS. to have once covered the grave of Henry Wilton, merchant and alderman of Norwich, who died in 1507[1]. His grandson Thomas, dying, with his wife and one daughter, in 1566, left two sons, Nicholas and Richard, and one daughter married to Sir John Brews of Topcroft and of Wenham in Suffolk. Thomas Wilton's estates in Topcroft, Stratton, and elsewhere, appear to have been divided between his two sons; but (by the death of the elder son unmarried in 1584), the whole came to the younger son Richard, whose note-book is now before us.

In the following year, 1585, being then twenty-three years old, he married Anne, daughter of Robert Buxton of Channonz in Tybenham—a gentleman of considerable note and wealth, and the ancestor of the present family of Channonz and Shadwell

[1] I have searched in vain for the monument here referred to. It is mentioned by Weever, but it has now disappeared. I can only transcribe from Mr Wilton's note-book the memoranda which I find there of the inscriptions upon it.

"In St Peters chancell of mancroft alias St Peters in ye mkt at Nor-
"wiche."

"Hic jacet Katerina quond̄ uxor Henrici Wilton, generosi, que obiit
"decimo die octobris aō dn̄i millimo cccc lxxvj° Cuī anime propicietur
"deus Amen.

"This is upon one grete stone where it seeme shee was alone buried.
"Here lieth Henrye Wiltone somtime an Aldermanne of this cittie &
"Mg̃rett my wief wech levide in this warde in felicitye and nowe lye under
"this marble stone in mortallitye: wherfor wee prey yō of yōr charitye
"that ye wool prey for hus that wee may come & lyve in ye wo'lde celestiall
"w^{t} a paternoster and an ave. Obit Henricus xvj die Decembris aō dn̄i
"millimo ccccc vij°. Obiit Margareta ij° die Novembris aō dn̄i M. Ye
"consequent Letters defased and soe uncerten.

"Wh̄ Margrett as semes being ye laste wife doth bere Windhams cote,
"vidzt, azor a chevron or 3 liberds heds or. Upon ye grete stone hee doth
"q̄ter his cote w̄th one who doth bere Cheque or and guiles as is taken a
"bende argent charged w̄th powder armins. And upon ye saide grete
"stone as also ye former w̄h lie both here together is ye Wiltons cote veri
"fayre sette in skutchens of brasse."

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Court[1]; and by her he had four sons and six daughters, all whose births, and the deaths of such as predeceased their father, are minutely recorded in the present MS.

Mrs Wilton died in childbirth in 1607, and the circumstances of her last illness and death are set forth with pathetic care by her sorrowing husband on the first flyleaf of his note-book[2]. For three years he seems to have lived alone with his orphan children at his house of Topcroft Hall, of which place it would seem that he had then acquired nearly the full lordship. But the marriage of his eldest surviving daughter to Mr Le Neve (possibly a brother, or at any rate a near relation of the well-known antiquary and King-at-arms) seems to have left him once more without a mistress for his house[3]. And in 1610

[1] Of this gentleman's death and burial there is a curious memorandum in this book. It is placed just above the entry referred to in the following note. "Robert Buxton, Esquyer, father of ye saide Anne hereunder, dyed "ye xv of November about xij aclocke in the same daye and was buried, "the same night A°. 1607. His funerall was solempnized ye 16 December "next after att Chanonze." The rapid interment within so few hours of death seems to indicate small-pox or some dangerously infectious disease as the cause of death. But the high consideration of the deceased gentleman in his neighbourhood—for so I read the entry—seems to have required that these hurried obsequies must be followed by a solemn funeral feast, which accordingly—following the tradition of the "month's mind" of pre-reformation times—took place with all due preparation at his manor of Chanonz a month after his death.

[2] The memorandum referred to is too long for transcription here. It begins thus: "Anne Wilton my dere and loving wiff dep̄ted this life the "xiij of September 1607 traveling upon her last sonne and delivered "thereof about ij of the clocke in the aft̄noone." Her virtues and her loving care of her children, with many other happy memories of his married life, are dwelt on with tender anxiety by her bereaved husband; and he winds up thus: "So as her worthines or rather Gods graces in her are not "to be sufficyentlie recordyd in thys roome were it tenne tymes larger. "Lorde grante me ye remembraunce of hir gretious mynde. R. W." Then, as an afterthought, he writes along the margin some "pretye wordes" of hope and pious comfort, which were the "laste open sayings of my sd dere "wiff."

[3] The pedigree of the ancient family of Neve or Le Neve of Norfolk and Suffolk is a very extended one, and I have not been able exactly to place

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his domestic cares and the loneliness of his home began to weigh too heavily upon him. He had already sent his two eldest boys, of eleven and nine years of age respectively, to school—every date and expense of their board and school progress being thenceforth carefully set down in his note-book; and his married daughter with her husband were invited to Topcroft Hall to take charge of everything in and about the house—Mr Wilton paying them certain sums, all regularly agreed upon beforehand, and recorded, as well for his own board and for the keep of his horse, as for "compensation" for any of his other children when they should be staying with him.

This arrangement, we are not surprised to learn, soon broke down. The new master of Topcroft seems to have failed lamentably at every point. The rent promised to his father-in-law for the lands he occupied was left unpaid, and a long and doleful note in the MS. records the sums lent to "Son Neve," the bills paid for him and never repaid, the "nete stocke" sold to him and never paid for, and in fact the general collapse of the new domestic arrangement, leaving Mr Wilton, possibly a wiser, but certainly a poorer man[1].

the son-in-law of Mr Wilton in his proper position therein. His name is sufficiently identified by this, among many other like entries of Mr Wilton in this MS. (p. 151): "Chargs & paymts for Nathā Neve that unhappye "ffellowe." (Then follow some payments for board and clothing of the wife and children). The only Nathaniel mentioned in Mr Carthew's "Pedigree "of the Le Neves" (*Norfolk Archæology* II. 368) is a second son of Richard Le Neve of Tuddenham (ob. 1585), whose eldest son Robert was Rector of Swanton Morley in 1592. And although Mr Carthew gives no further account of this Nathaniel or of his marriage, I incline to think, from various coincidences of dates, places, and names of the children mentioned in this MS., that he was the "unhappye ffellowe" who caused poor Mr Wilton so much trouble and cost.

[1] It is not possible to give any idea of the domestic "thorn" which this marriage proved to be to Mr Wilton. A more longsuffering father-in-law never lived. From 1612 to 1629 the book before us bears—running like a black thread through all its entries—the constant lamentations which mark the stumbles and shortcomings of "Son Neve" in money matters, which

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But while things seemed to go thus ill with him at home, his place in the world without was increasing in dignity. Being already (possibly by his father-in-law Buxton's influence), a Justice of the Peace for his county, he had, as already mentioned, acquired from the family of his brother-in-law, Sir John Brewse, almost the full lordship of Topcroft. And about this time he also acquired by purchase the neighbouring Manors of Beck Hall in Wilby and of Hargham Hall. No mention of these purchases is made in the book before us, but by putting scattered entries together, it seems that the annual rental of his lands (besides his lands in hand) was about £530, representing an income of our day of between £2000 and £3000 a year. We are not therefore surprised to find the lord of three manors, of such a revenue, having soon occasion to enter in his book (significantly enough next to an entry of £10 lent to his son-in-law Neve) the following curious item. "Dd to my "coesen Peter Buxton 29 June 1611 a Ring wh was my wiefs "marying Ringe to deliu^{r} to Mrs Scryvenere as a token upon "condycon yt I pmise yt no woeman shoulde eū have it but she "yt shoulde be my wief." And shortly after we find the result that Mr Wilton "pd Mr Goldman 19 November alle ye re-"conning I ought him ffor my mariage a$\overline{\text{pp}}$ell and oth$\bar{\text{w}}$ise "li^{s}, haveing pd him before of yt reconing iiij^{li}, and also pd "Tho Smyth all his as p bill apperith."

Of the lady thus tenderly referred to I have not as yet learned more than this book tells us. But it would appear from this authority that she brought to the good Squire of Wilby and Topcroft, not only a good addition to his revenues

his father-in-law makes good. He hires land, and does not pay the rent. He borrows money, to be paid "most certenlie" on a given day, and when the day comes the debtor has mysteriously increased the debt, and has paid nothing—"$\bar{\text{w}}$h forme of doinge I lyke not," says piteously the aggrieved father-in-law. Finally, he vanishes away altogether, and the daughter and grandchildren are, to the end of the book, of constant occurrence as of "costes and chargs." What became of them after I know not.

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but (what was of even still greater necessity to him) a clear head for domestic management. Of the first there is evidence, as well in the many entries henceforth appearing of monies received for "my wiefs landes" at Croxton Hall and elsewhere, as from the plentiful allowance of £80 a year "at her own "dispocyon" which she received from her husband. Taking the worth of money at four or five times its present value, this would represent some £350 a year now. Her housewifely skill and method may be inferred both from the much more regular entries of her good Squire's payments (for of his receipts there is still but too little regularity of entry) appearing in his book, and from the evident change in his household arrangements which begins to come before us.

Hitherto, for five and twenty years the book has been of a character, of which most of us may have had some personal experience of our own. It started (apparently with his first marriage in 1585) on a valiant intention of great care and order. Receipts and payments, debts and outgoings, rent accounts and farm accounts, were all to be regularly set down under the separate title headings carefully engrossed at intervals through the book. But—with perhaps some conscience-stricken recollection of like good intentions in our own earlier time—we shake our heads, and smile, to see the rapid break down of so fair a scheme. Some of the heads have never had anything entered under them at all; none of them in fact have had more than a few short months' tribute. And we can almost see the book, lying about here and there as some of our own note-books may have lain, and only caught up now and then to receive some sudden jottings or memoranda of daily life. Two or three pages are filled with the minute entries, then and long after common, of the births of the writer's children; rendered, it may here be observed, in the quaintly pious language of the Elizabethan Puritans and tinged, it may be, with something of astrological belief in the importance of recording the exact hour and moment

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of birth[1]. Other scattered pages again are occupied with memoranda of engagements of servants, and of their wages duly certified at the Sessions, or with entries (evidently jotted down on the first page which has happened to fall open) of payments made on church and parish account, of subsidies paid to the Queen, of small debts owing to or from the writer (some of them to be paid at this or that "church porch") or of items of family or local history accidentally coming to his knowledge.

But from the date of his second marriage, the good Squire comes into more regular ways, both of spending and of recording his spendings. Within three months after his marriage all his elder daughters who are still living with him, are put upon regular allowances (or "quartridges," as he calls them), each one to "fynd herselfe alle thyngs." And it may be interesting to those of us who have, or hope to have, like payments of our own to make, to know what the allowance of a gentleman's daughter was 270 years ago. His two eldest daughters, of twenty and twenty-two years of age respectively, had thirty shillings a quarter apiece, while his other daughters of seventeen and eighteen were provided with twenty shillings a quarter only; being at the rate of about £20 and £30 a year of our money to each young lady respectively.

So is it with his household arrangements. There is no sort of consecutive order in the entries; but the writer tries manfully to put down what he can. There are not many entries of the wages of his women-servants, which we may suppose to have

[1] One such entry will be enough to illustrate the good squire's method. On the birth of his eldest son—six daughters having already appeared—he writes thus: "Robte Wilton my sonne was borne the xxij of July betwene "xij & j of the clocke in ye nighte and was baptised the vth of Auguste "whome as the Lorde doe graunt o^{r} desyres in geving him to us soe most "humbly besechinge his ma^{tie} to sanctifie w^{t} his trewe feare to lyve in "obedyence to hym that throughe Jesus Christ he lyve hys faithfull ser- "uaunt, be one of hys Chuerche, and aft^{r} this lyfe to be p̄taker of heuenlie "happynes for euer. R. Wilton. Añ Dñi 1599 annoque dñe R^{me} Eliz xlj^{o}."

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been left to his wife's management. And even the entries of money paid to the men-servants come so irregularly that little or nothing of much interest can be gathered from them. But he occasionally tries hard at better things. For one whole year he puts down the exact quantity of wheat used for flour in his house, and of malt used in his brewing. There is also a kind of current account between him and "Robyn the Bocher," in which appears the quantity of beef and mutton sent into the house for which the butcher was to take credit in his account, when the sheep and oxen sold to him came to be settled for. And thus we are able to gather, that when (as he enters it) "the vijth of Nouembr 1611, wee began to kepe howse at Top-"crofte w^{ch} seconde beginninge The Lorde God in m̄cie blesse "w^{t} gracious successe to his holy plisure & o^{r} comforte. Amen." —the consumption of beef in the house was at the rate of about 220 stone in the year; of mutton about 70 fore and hind quarters; while of wheat—and we must remember that the servants never tasted wheaten bread at all, and moreover that, in the year recorded, the price of wheat had risen to the famine point of twenty shillings per coomb—the quantity consumed was 15 sacks or about 260 stone, and of malt 12 coombs, equal to about as many hogsheads of beer. It was scarcely therefore a small or niggard household over which the second Mrs Wilton had come to rule[1]. And that she was a thorough woman of busi-

[1] Some memoranda of prices gathered by chance from the entries in this MS. may not be irrelevant or uninteresting here. Wheat varied from 10*s.* to 19*s.* per coomb, being at its lowest in 1591, and highest in 1586 and in 1613. In this latter year also the prices of oats and rye were extravagant, standing at 6*s.* and 12*s.* respectively per coomb, as compared with 3*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* to 8*s.* in other years. Malt ranged from 7*s.* to 9*s.* 4*d.* per coomb. Beef varied very little, standing usually at twenty or twenty-one pence per stone, and calves being always reckoned at ten shillings each. Mutton was about fourteen or fifteen pence per quarter; butter from 13*s.* 4*d.* to as much as 17*s.*; cheese was apparently not quite so variable, the prices ranging between 39*s.* and 48*s.* per wey, or weight of thirteen stones. Women's wages in the house were twenty and twenty-six shillings

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ness appears further from the curious entry shewing that within two years of her marriage she commuted, by agreement with her husband, one half of her personal allowance of eighty pounds a year for certain meadow and other lands, lying near the Hall, which she thenceforth farmed in the most businesslike manner, entirely on her own account.

I fear that I may have wearied my readers with these domestic details. But before examining the most really interesting entries in the book, those referring to the education of the children, I have thought it well to establish, as nearly as I can, their actual station in life. They were children of a gentleman by birth, station, and education; himself the lord of three manors, a Justice of the Peace, and connected closely by birth and marriage with other neighbouring families of the same or of higher rank. The eldest, and only surviving one, of the three boys, succeeding his father in after life, became Colonel in the Royal Service and Knight of the Shire for his county in Parliament.

In 1608 the two eldest boys, being then nine and seven years old respectively, were sent to some small neighbouring school (the locality is unfortunately omitted) where the pair of them were boarded by "good wiff. Woolnough" at the rate of eleven pounds a year; their "techinge" being cared for by a certain Mr Pierson at forty shillings a year. Their casual expenses with their Dame for their "shooes mendinge, for "candles and such other things as she then recconed" came to about four or five shillings a quarter. And thirteen pence was paid to Mr Pierson for books for them. Two years afterwards the youngest son, Thomas, went from home to a dame

a year; those of men in the house from forty-five to fifty shillings, and of day-labourers fourpence per day. The interest of money appears to have been usually eight per cent. Of other matters, I may note that a roan gelding cost eight pounds, a "muskett and rapeer" twenty-eight shillings, and a "pistall frō London" eighteen shillings.

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school kept by "vid. Richards" at Hempnall, an adjoining village, "to boarde and learne"; their father having "agreed "wt. her for ye same to paye for him iiij.li. p. ann." In the following April Thomas was sent to Bungay to "boord and "lerne to Goodman Jaye." "I agreed to paye him v.li. xs. "p. ann., if he tarry there so longe, or after y^{t} rate." And in the same year the youngest daughter, Mary, went to a Mrs Horninge of Roydon, "having agreed with her for her boord "and teaching to paye x.li. p. ann. or after y^{t} rate, so longs she "tarryeth." Mary was then 16 years old.

In this same year the two eldest boys went to "borde and "schoole" at the Grammar School at Windham, or Wymondham, in Norfolk, their father paying for their board £12 per annum. There Thomas joined them in the following year, the father then paying for all three of them £20 a year. They were then eight, eleven, and thirteen years old respectively.

At this Grammar School at Windham the three boys seem to have remained for three years; their whole yearly expenses being £20 for board, about £5 for "bills of charges," and £6 for schooling; besides occasional gratuities of "a pece of golde" to the Master, Usher, and their "Hoste."

These schoolboy days are now to pass away, and we are to follow the boys in their first launch into the outer world. Something we have seen, even hitherto, of the quiet simplicity of our Norfolk squire's life, and this would have come out more clearly still if we had examined the entries in his account-book more closely. But nothing I think in this book lets in a stronger light upon the general state of society in the times of which we are speaking, than the record of Richard Wilton the second son's life and death as we find it at p. 128 of this book.

It begins thus: "What things Richard Wilton caried w^{h} "him to London 8 of April 1616." (He was then, we shall remember, not quite fifteen years old.) "Imprimis iiij shirts,

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"vj bands, ij payer of cuffes, iv handkerchefes, ij dubletts, ij "payer of hose. vidz^{t}. breches, iiij payer stockings, ij payer "shoes, a cloke and a hatt; and I gave him in his pūest v.s, and "v.s. vj.d. I gave him at London to buye a Bible wt. It^{m}, sent "him p. sone Neve ij.s. vj.d: It^{m}, sent him by Ro. his brother "ij.s. x.d. It^{m}, sent him by Cosen William Cossing, 12 Feb- "ruary, ij.s. vj.d. It^{m}, sent him p. Eyke ij.s. vj.d."

There are other entries in following years of like sums sent to the boy from time to time, and of clothes sent up to him from home. At times, too, he seems to have come down for a holiday to the old Manor House, for there are entries of money sent to his brother by his hands, as he passes through Cambridge. But, closely following the first entry of his depar- ture from home, quoted above, there is this entry in the poor father's hand, "The said Richard my Sone, depted this life xj "December 1620 at Mr Brocks his M^{rs} howse ye signe of ye "Sunē, mercer in Cheapside when he was xix yere olde & a "halfe and when he had served his saide M^{r} iiij yers & halfe "& had but iij & halfe to serve. His sicknes & death was "a burninge fever wherein he lay aboute xiiij dayes enduringe "much peyne but as quiett for yt extreme fitts as most, utter- "inge oute of his fitts comfortable and hopefull speches of "thassurance of his salvacon by Christe & ofte repeted a short "prayer of his owne compilinge, wherby especially wt his trewe "concionable and dilligent Care trusty & faithfull dilligence to "his M^{r} in his trade & callinge although I gathered over "soeuer so grete hope of joye & comforte of him ffor his well "doinge and p̄ferment in this life yet far greter joye I assured "myselfe of in his far better p̄ferment to celestiall & hevenly "joyes in ye glorious kingdom of heuen, and is buried in Bowe "Church Chapell w^{h} cost 13^{s} 4^{d}. It. sent to his M^{r} Mr Brocke "25 Ju. 1620 towards ye charge of his buriall & sermon 44^{s} in "ij peces p Ro. my sone wt a lr̄e."

We have here a remarkable glimpse of habits of life, which

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may now seem strange to us, but which may help to illustrate the past growth of our national life. It is no poor struggling tradesman, seeking a better chance for his boy in London than country life will give him—no impoverished gentleman, sinking his family dignity to lighten domestic burdens; but a wealthy country squire, a magistrate, a Lord of manors holding his own Courts Baron, whose eldest son is hereafter to take the place among the Norfolk gentlemen to which he was born, who, quite naturally and as a matter of course, apprentices his second son to a Mercer in Cheapside, just as he sends his two other sons, first to Cambridge and then to the Army and the Law. I am not sure that we are not too apt to overlook the close personal connexion between the land and the trade of England which had grown up in the sixteenth century, and of which such a fact as this is evidence. When, in the records of our nobility, we read that this or that noble house sprang in the 16th or 17th centuries from such an one, "Grocer" or "Draper of London," we are apt to forget what these "Grocers" and "Drapers" were by birth in so many cases, and how much may have been due to their birth and connexions, in the commercial success to which they afterwards attained. They were (many of them at least) not mere waifs and strays of society, laboriously toiling upwards from the lowest menial station; nor were they always even the sons of respectable but obscure tradesmen, making some lucky hit in after life which raised them above their native rank. The great merchants of London and of the larger provincial cities had each of them passed, as the laws of trade required, through the lowest stratum of their calling, before they could claim the freedom of their craft. As apprentices they had had to wait on their master and mistress at table, to attend them with their clubs as pages when they went abroad, to sleep hardly and to fare coarsely, as part of the rough training to discipline and obedience which was to bring out the self-reliance, and personal readiness, and self restraint,

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as necessary to a successful merchant as any art or mechanical skill in his craft. But in all these duties the son of the English gentleman had always to serve side by side with any nameless lad whom the large charity of his master might have chosen for a place in the commonwealth of commerce. The time would come, no doubt, when the successful merchant of gentle blood would be glad to think not less of his pedigree and native rank than of the credit and wealth for which he had himself worked so hardly. As might have been in the case before us, the eldest brother, the Squire and Colonel, and the younger brother the Lawyer, would, under the pressure of life, frankly claim from the Merchant brother in Cheapside the kindliness and assistance which they might need for themselves and for their children, and which they would be equally ready to render back to him, if he should chance to need their help or influence. And when the time should come for their final parting on earth, the same ensigns of ancestral dignity would mark the graves of the wealthy merchant, laid to rest in the City church where he had been wont to worship, and of his brother the country squire, sleeping in honour within the chancel of the old church of their ancestral home[1]. It may all seem strange to us. But our fore-

[1] A remarkable instance of the connexion between the landed and trading interests of England in the 16th and 17th centuries, and of the honest pride which a well-born tradesman felt in his family descent occurs in another part of these Buxton MSS. John Heron, a wealthy merchant of Godmanchester, was the nephew of that Robert Herne or Heron—for they seem to have used both spellings indifferently—from the marriage of whose daughter with Robert Buxton of Channonz (the gentleman referred to above at p. 203) descend the present family of Channonz and Shadwell Court. And by his will dated April 4, 12 Ja. I. the Godmanchester merchant, after disposing of his large estates in Tybenham and elsewhere in Norfolk, in Chatteris, Huntingdon, and Godmanchester, among his three sons—the Norfolk property coming afterwards by another marriage to the Buxton family—proceeds to leave, with a generous hand, memorials of plate and money among his kinsfolk and friends. Amongst the rest he directs that to his mother, to his sister and her husband, and to his five brothers shall be given—besides other legacies—to each "a rynge of goulde

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fathers were taught in their very boyhood that success and honour do not grow out of idleness and self-indulgence. And the bright-faced Norfolk lad—gentleman born as he might be—was sent to use his English energy and pluck as cheerfully among his brother flatcaps in the rough training for an English merchant's life in London, as he had been wont to use them in fishing his native "broads" or hunting the bustard and the hare on his father's wolds. It need not be a revolutionary affectation of contempt for birth and gentle blood which is beginning again to send the sons of English gentlemen to hard work in the commerce of the world. It may be, and probably is, a healthy revival of the gallant English spirit of old time—seeing no dishonour in anything save in unmanly idleness and languid dependence on others—which has made England what she is or has been, and which sent poor young Richard Wilton from his father's Norfolk manor to learn to work so honestly, and to die so cheerfully, in his master's service in Cheapside; an encouragement for those of our own sons who have learnt to regard with comfort and esteem the work and honour of their ancestors 300 years ago.

Turning now to the memoranda of Mr Wilton's other sons,

"of twenty shyllings apece with the heroshawe"—the ancient cognisance of the Herons—"engrauen therein." He had good right so to bear in mind the family from which he and those of whom he had been thinking had sprung. He was the grandson of John Heron of Godmanchester, from whose eldest brother Robert descended the Herons of Lanetoft in Lincolnshire, and whose grandfather, a great Newcastle merchant, was the second son of Sir John Heron, the head of the ancient Herons of Chipchase of Northumberland. It had taken nothing from the family honour—it had added to its possessions and power—that five generations of Herons had been merchants, gathering wealth with each generation, instead of idly hanging on the skirts of their knightly kinsmen in the north. And John Heron, dying in wealth and honour among his warehouses in Godmanchester, was glad to think of the ancient badge which there, as in the old baronial home of his House, had been a sign of honour and of duty to those who bore it. (The pedigree of this family, dated 1648, is among the Buxton MSS.)

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the eldest and the youngest, we come to matters of even more special interest to this Society than those already looked at. We have to follow them through their University career, and so to their lives in London. The record of Robert Wilton, the eldest son, begins at p. 111 of the book, and it will be better to transcribe at length the entries as they stand.

"Rob^{t} Wilton my sonne went to Cābridge y^{e} xth of Octob^{r} "1614." (It will be observed that he was at this time a little more than fifteen years old.)

"It^{m} sent w^{l} him to y^{e} Tutor M^{r} Estwick .....vi^{li}
"It^{m} sent him p carier 15 Novemb^{r}.....v^{s} & ij chests.
"It^{m} sent him 17 January p M^{r} Silbys man iij^{s} and then for his tutor v^{l} and "my wief sent him x whyte puddens.
"It^{m} p^{d} for carying his citerne thith^{r} .....xij^{d}
"It^{m} sent by M^{r} Vesey 28 Mch to his tutor v^{li} and then also stips .....v^{s} vj^{d}
"It^{m} sent p carier 17 May dd him .....vi^{s}
"It^{m} my wief sent him p carier
"It^{m} sent p cariers sonne 28 June.....j chese and iij^{s}
"It^{m} P^{d} to M^{r} Estwicke ix August p meīpum .....v^{li} "at w^{h} tyme hee was answered and p^{d} for all y^{t} was then dewe and "xxx^{s} in futuro.
"It^{m} sent to M^{r} Estwicke p Mr Veseyes sonne the 25th Septemb^{r} 1615 ....v^{li}
"It^{m} sent p Rog^{r} y^{e} carier 25 October 1615 .....x^{s}
"It^{m} sent p Tho. 16 Decembr to y^{e} tutor .....v^{li} "dd to Tho. for charges.....x^{s}
"It^{m} Ro. went to Camb. xv Ja. 1615, when I dded to him v^{li} vj^{s} vj^{d} he to "finde himself appell and all oth^{r} things excepting his tuition his "cōmons in y^{e} halle and sisesings in y^{e} buttre w^{h} I am to defray, and "so henceforth he is to haue fyve mks' a qrter at lady next five mks "and so q̄rterly w^{h} the Lord blesse him w^{t} care to proffitt.
"P^{d} in charge to Tho. goinge up to towne .....x^{s}
"It. p^{d} as sent him p carier 20 Mch. .....v^{s} vi^{d}
"It. dd Ric. for my sonne Neve his charges .....x^{s}
"It^{m} p^{d} by M^{r} Sucklins lr̄e about 6 April vj^{li} viiij^{s} whereof his tutor xl^{s} rem. "stips .....iv^{li} viij^{s}
"It^{m} my wief sent him 29 April .....v^{s} vi^{d}
"It^{m} sent Ric. p sonne Neve x June .....ij^{s} vj^{d}

(This was to the son in London.)

"It^{m} sent p carier to Rob^{t} 17 June.....xxij^{s}
"It^{m} sent more to him p Mr Cook^{m} 26 Ja. 7^{li} 14^{s} whereof I willed him p "letter to paye to his tutor.....3^{li} vj^{s}

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"It^m dd to Rog. ye carier 18 August to pay to Rob^t .....v^s
"1616 It^m sent to Rob^t p M^r Silby 6 Septemb^r.....v^li
"It^m sent to Ro. p Phillip Fynck 5 Octo^br for to paye his tutor for alle
"y^t was dewe to him y^e xiij^th of Septemb^r last as p his bills appere...lv^s
"It^m sent p carier Norw^ch 17 Novemb^r .....xl^s
"It. his tutors bill y^e 26 Deceb^r when Ro. came home for a qrter beginning
"11 October 1616 wh is to pay still this 12 of Ja. .....4^li ij^s
"1616
"And now this 12 of Ja. Rob^t went agene to Cambidge and from hence all
"y^e form^r being discharged I have taken order anewe vidl^t to allowe
"him xxx^li p ann. and he to paye all comons sizeings and fynd himselfe
"appell and all whatsoever besyde w^h y^e Lorde blesse I hubly praye.
"It^m sent p Mr Coffees bill 25 Ja.....xi^li x^s
"whereof iiij^li to pay his tutor all y^t is dewe at his last goeing upp and
"vij^li x^s for his qrterrage ut pdict.
"It. p^d by M^r Utting to M^r Taylors sone of Stratton 8 April 1617 to paye
"over agene to Rob^t my sone at Cam. for his qrter to be dewe at
"Mids^r next .....vij^li x^s
"It. sent p Drewery Norw^ch carier j June .....x^s
"It. sent p Mr Archer 25 June 1617 .....vij^li
"It. p^d him at his goeing upp at Septe^br vij^li x^s w^h make up 30^li sithence
"Xrityde last."

At this point the entries of Robert Wilton's college expenses come to an end, but it seems probable that if he took his degree the charges were defrayed by his father, as afterwards in his younger brother's case, but that they were not set down in this book. That he had done well at college is evident from the entry next succeeding that last extracted. It stands thus: "Robert Wilton went to London ij of March "1617 at w^h tyme I delied him x^li and xx^s to Tho. for their "charges. Whereas God formly blessed him at Camb, so I "hubly besich him still to continewe his gratious blessinge in "his holy feare to dyrect him and alle his wayes to Gods glory "and my comfort."

The entries then go on—

"It. sent him beginning of Ester terme 1618 p M^r Gooche of Mettingham x^li
"It. sent him p cosen Osbornes sone 20 Sept^r .....vj^li
"It. sent p M^r George Gooche 29 October.....viij^li
"It. sent p M^r Osborne of Norw^ch 9 Deceb^r .....v^li

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"It. sent p M^r^ Osborne to paye over to him 3 Feb. .....12^li^
"51^li^ apperith 1^mo^ yere.

"It. he came home ye first weke in lent and stayed whilst ye beginninge "ye first Munday aft. Ester weke at w^ch^ his goeinge I p^d^ him in golde "12^li^ ij^s^ for his first qrter beginninge at Lady last 1619 and soe to have "q̄rterly as much, w^h^ is for ye whole yere 48^li^, & eodem die p^d^ at his goeing "I gave him xx^s^ more for his ch^ees^ uppe and downe againe, whome w^t^ w^ht^ "God by his p̄vidence and mercie hath enabled me I besich may be "effectually expended to Gods glory & good of his church & his contrye, "my comfort & his frinds and well wishers."

We need not follow young Robert Wilton further. He seems to have stayed in London, probably studying the law, until 1623, from which date no further entries are made of payments to him. At his father's death a few years afterwards we know that he succeeded to the family estate, and thereon built the present manor house of Wilby. He became Justice of the Peace and Colonel of the Volunteers of his native county, of which he was also elected representative in Parliament in 1656. Strongly attached to the Royal cause, he so bore himself as to gather to himself the respect and love of his neighbours, and the record on his monument in Wilby chancel will add something perhaps of interest to the notes of his early life which we have had before us. The good old father's prayers and efforts were answered.

"Here lyeth the body of that faithful patriot and true lover "of his country Rob. Wilton of Wylby in the county of Norff. "esquire son of Rich. Wylton of Topcroft in the same county "Esquire by Anne the daughter of Robert Buxton of Tyben- "ham Esq^r^." Then follow his three marriages, one to Hannah, daughter of Robert Jay, gent.; then to Susan, daughter of Sir Anthony Drury of Besthorpe; and lastly to Briget, daughter of Sir John Meade of Lofts in co. Essex. "He exchanged this "mortal for an immortal life the 19 of Nov^r^. 1657 in the 58 "yeare of his age."

My work is drawing to an end. I have only now to turn to the college record of Thomas, the youngest son, as I find it at

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p. 155 of his father's book. He went up to Cambridge in 1621, being then sixteen years of age. But I think I see already some faint traces of a character not so strong and reliable as are the characters of his two elder brothers. He is trusted with less money. He is not allowed, as in his brother Robert's case, to pay his own way after his first year upon a yearly allowance, but, to the end of his college career, his bills are all paid by his tutor and his clothes are provided and sent him from home. His pocket moneys, or "stipes," are less, too, and are doled out in smaller sums. I need not occupy space with the whole account, which comes in amount to much the same as that of his eldest brother five years before, but I will only transcribe such entries as, being more in detail, may fill up the broader outlines of the earlier accounts.

"Tho Wilton my sone went to Cambidge 25 April 1621, and begun to "enter into comons the 28 April when I left w^t his tutor v^li to be recconned "to me by a bylle eūie q̄rter & xij^s I left w^t goode wiff Chābrs for a surplis "& vij^s w^t Tho. for a capp & other necessaries haveing p^d for his gowne "makinge &c, all w^h came to about lv^s, & he caried w^t him 2 dublets, "ij payer breches, 3 payer stockinges whereof 2 payer newe, 3 shirts, "vj bandes, vj handkerchefes, a cloke, ij hatts, payer boots and spurs, "girdle, 2 paier shoes, 2 table napk̄, ij night cappes. The Lord God I "hūbly besiche him to Blesse w^t a gracious progresse in grace and learning "in the trewe feare of his heuenly name to my cōfort heare and to bothe "o^r endles joye and comfort eūlastingly by and throughe ye meritts only "and death of o^r Lord Jesus Christ.

"It. sent him a payer of sheets in June p goodwife Chābers & p "Drewery alle his books y^t came from Ypsw^h & his brother sent him frō "London also a trunck & a bible and some other books.

"It. sent him p Joseph herron 5 of Septembre a paier shoes & ij^s vj^d."

Other like entries follow—a quarterly payment being always sent of "v^li" to his tutor. He seems to have got an exhibition at his college, for there is at the close of his first year this entry. "It. sent to his Tutor p Ro. fil. 29 Ja. 1621 for chābrs "and study l^s, and what it came to more he to pay himselfe "exhebicōis w^h is to be rep^d agene when he leue it w^hin a litle, "but it came to but 34^s as by his lr̄e appere ye residewe of y^t

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"l^{s} was recconned and sett of in the v^{li} he had in hand for ye "beginninge ye seconde yere ye residewe to make up s^{d} v^{li} being "4^{li} 3^{s} vj^{d}."

The entry is obscure, but the reference to an account "exhebicōis" seems clear[1]. A year afterwards we have all payments still made through the tutor. "It. sent his Tutor p̄ "Tho. at his going to Camb. 24 Jan. 1622 xj^{s} w^{h} w^{t} ye re- "mainder of ye 4^{li} last sent p̄ Andrewe is 3^{li} v^{s} then beginninge "y^{t} he hath y^{t} in hand to defray his cōmons sizesings Tuition, "landress, sizer, and other howse duties p̄mising his Tutor then "by my lr̄e under my hande y^{t} at thende of next and eūie "q̄rter if it came to more to discharge & paye as also to saue "and kepe him harmlesse of all indempnities he any waye "shoulde susteyne or be putte p̄ him." An attempt is made to put poor Thomas on an allowance in this year in these quaint terms: "Dd. to Tho. himselfe 42^{s} for this q̄ter to p̄uide him- "selfe w^{t} alle other necessaries & so after if y^{t} allown̄ce be too "litle to fynde him, I p̄mise & will increase it to Gods glory, "I besiche, my comforte & his future goode in Jesus Christ." The "allown̄ce" does soon prove "too litle," as might be expected. In the very next April a complicated difficulty occurs over a sum of "v^{li} xv^{s}," part of which is to pay the tutor and "ye residewe stips." But the "stips" gets confused with the other payment, so that in May next it appears "y^{t} yet rem "debett to his Tutor, as by his bylle under his hande 3^{s} 7^{d}, but "his lr̄e, videlicet Thom., and ye byll agre not altogether." However, the difficulty is got over. I think there are signs of old age creeping over the good Squire. He is getting on now for seventy years old, and he cannot be hard with his youngest son, his Benjamin. So, after a gap of several months, we find Benjamin receiving the same general allowance as Robert had done (£30 a year), but, I grieve to say, so constantly forestalling it as to make the poor old Squire's entries as painful to unravel as they must have been to him to indite. In the last

[1] See note at end of this communication.

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November of Thomas's Cambridge life, there is a ponderous explanation by his father that a certain "vij^{li} x^{s}", then sent by his brother Robert, should not be paid by rights until Christmastide, but for that happy opportunity occurring for its safe conveyance. And it is painfully set forth that it is to "clere "his q̄rter fro Xritide to Annuncācon o^{r} Lady," with a prayer following that "God would make him as carefull to p̄fitt by "his menes as God has enabled me to afforde it & willingly to "contribute." Alas! Mr Wilton scarcely seems to realise the danger of paying so long beforehand. In the very next January, not only has "one M^{r} Cooke of Kaius College" to take charge of iij^{li} for Thomas "for his com̄encement," but further disbursements have to be made. Brother Robert has to carry him "33^{s}" more in January, and again, at Thetford Assizes (where brother Robert may possibly be now practising at the bar), no less than "vij^{li}" has to be taken to the poor Benjamin to clear up accounts. In May next he goes to London with his brother —probably to study law under the graver brother's eye; but he is not trusted with his own purse, at any rate for some time. Eight pounds, three shillings and sixpence are given "to his "brother at his goeing," and until the following January sundry other like payments are made. From January to June he receives in person £23. But in the next year appears the first of several entries which tell us that the art of flying "kites" was not unknown in the 17th century to young men in London, whose expenses would unaccountably exceed their allowance. "It. p^{d} to Jo. Smith of Topcroft Hall 6 Feb. 1627 3^{li} upon a "bill of my sone Tho. w^{h} he rec of M^{r} Phillipp Pery of London "w^{h} s^{d} 3^{li} is to be sett off his next q̄teridge." The old allowance of £40 a year is still in form kept up. But the entries of the payments are so irregular, and so mixed up with notes of bills taken up for poor Thomas, that we cannot help seeing how the matter stands. And the very last entry in date which I have been able to find in the book is as thus: "It. p^{d} 6 Sept. "1629 to Jo. Smith vi^{li} v^{s} for Ro. Jay of London p^{d} to Joseph

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"Valiant at Sturbridge whoe said hee payd it for Tho. Wilton "upon his bond wherein Valiant was bound w^t^ him ut dicit."

So the good Squire's book, being now full on every page, comes to an end; and, with it, my own immediate duty. He was now close upon seventy years old, and (although I have not as yet learnt with certainty the date of his death nor his place of burial) his eldest son was almost certainly in possession of the estate within four years after the last entry, and so I suppose that a new book was never started. For more than five and forty years the old book had grown old with its master. Bright and fresh at first, as he was when he first brought home the bride of his youth from her father's house at Channonz, it lies before us now yellow and battered, as it lay by the old man's side when it was last opened to record "sone Tho.'s" last escapade, but full of the joys and the sorrows, the successes and disappointments of just such a country house three centuries ago as so many of us are looking to, when we leave these stately hostels of happy academic memories for the homes of our infancy and, as we pray, of our elder years. There are many jottings and casual memoranda scattered through the book with which I have been tempted to eke out this somewhat flimsy compilation. But with these, as more perhaps of local or personal than of general interest, I will not venture to trouble my readers now. There are however two such notes, one of which at least is new to me, with which I may ask leave to conclude. They were apparently picked up by the writer when he was in London upon some family business in the year 1619–20.

"S^r^ Walter Rawleighs v^ss^ before his execucon w^ch^ was ye 29 Oct^r^ 1618.

Even such is tyme w^ch^ takes in trust
oure yowth o^r^ joyes & all we have
And payes us but w^t^ age & dust
Whith in ye darke & sylent grave.
When we have wandred all o^r^ waies
Shuts up ye stoary of our dayes
And from w^ch^ earth & grave & dust
The Lord shall rayse me up I trust."

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The next note is entered at the same time—the reference being probably to the comet of 1618–

"The kings ma^{tie}. Epitaph uppon the Queenes death."

"The to invite the grete God sent his starre
Whose freinds & nerest kin goode princes are.
Ffor though they rune the race of men, and dye,
Death seems but to refyne their maiestye.
Soe did the Quene her Cours frō hence remove,
and lefte the earth to be inthroned above.
There shee is changd, not dead; no good prince dies,
But like the dayes sun onlie sets to rise."

With which witness of royal wisdom and modesty preserved for our edification by good Mr Wilton, of Topcroft and Wilby, I may bring this paper to a close. There are many things incidentally relating to the entries I have copied on which much more might be said. We might have taken note of the necessity—so startling to the modern undergraduate mind—of sending small occasional sums of pocket-money from home by "olde Drewery the carier." But where there were no banks, no post office orders and no banknotes, hard cash was the only medium of remittance in such cases. And as little as possible of hard money was sent at a time lest an inopportune bully-boy, or knight of the road, might, upon some lonely Norfolk heath, break up beyond repair the domestic arrangements of the expectant student. The ring of connection between the "stips" of Jacobean times and the "tips" familiar to our own schoolboys' ears will strike the philologist. The arrangements as to "sizeings," and "sisers," referred to in Thomas Wilton's accounts, are not familiar to an Oxford ear, but they are doubtless of interest here. The "surpliss," of no less cost than at least fifty shillings of our money, shews that a bearing of testimony against the garments of Baal was at any rate not an indulgence for a freshman in 1621. And lastly, the broad distinction between the Oxford and the Cambridge system (in

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the latter all expenses of the student being paid through the College authorities, in the former no such personal relations existing at all between them and the undergraduates) is seen to be of no modern growth. At Cambridge the College stood altogether "in loco parentis"; at Oxford a young man either looked after his own expenses, or brought his own tutor with him from home.

All these points I have left untouched for fear of straining my readers' patience. To some of them, and to other like touches of local or domestic colour in the MS. before us, I may be allowed to refer hereafter in further communications to the Society.

NOTE.

Since the above was written, I have learnt by the kindness of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, that there are, or were, certain scholarships or *exhibitions* to that College, attached to this school of Wymondham, among others. It was possibly one of these which young Thomas Wilton had obtained.

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XV. On a Hoard of Roman Coins found at Willingham. Communicated by Francis Jenkinson, M.A., Trinity College.

[February 19, 1883.]

The village of Willingham lies about two miles south of the river Ouse, and three miles S.S.W. of Earith, where Roman relics of some importance have from time to time been discovered. Between Willingham and the river lies Middle Fen, now drained and cultivated. It was in this fen, at a point rather less than a mile north-by-east of Willingham Church, that the coins were found. On the 25th of February, 1881, a man named Charles Smith was ploughing this field, when, at a depth of seven inches, the plough, which is described as having "sunk in the ground," struck and broke in pieces an earthen vessel[1] containing upwards of 500 coins cemented by rust into a solid mass.

Rather more than half of the vessel came into my possession. The diameter at the base was $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches: at 3 inches from the base it was just under 5 inches: the height must have been about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches or rather less. The substance is yellowish-ochreous, redder on one side; very bibulous and powdery, rubbing away without difficulty; and was perhaps once protected by some glaze which has perished. There was probably a narrow neck, and a single short handle. This kind of bottle

[1] On March 10, 1881, a similar vessel was found about 4 ft. from the same spot, and numerous fragments occurred in black earth about twelve yards off.

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is very common, the present specimen being rather less globular than some others I have met with.

I have been thus particular in describing so commonplace a vessel, because we can assign it to a certain date. The latest coins that occurred in the find are two of Diocletian; for I cannot take into account a vague rumour that one of Carausius was among them. Diocletian began to reign in 284 A.D.; and that year or the next may be regarded as the probable date of the deposit: since no coins occur of any of Diocletian's colleagues, the earliest of whom, Maximianus Herculius, was raised to the dignity of Augustus in the year 286.

Now although this vase is of so ordinary a type that it may seem to belong to no period in particular, yet it is quite possible that a comparison of a large number even of such vases as this, each of which could be assigned to an approximate date, would enable a practised eye to detect in each slight peculiarities of material or of outline: and the knowledge so gained might be applied to similar pottery found under other circumstances. But among the many discoveries of this kind that are continually being made, sometimes at least the receptacle would be composed of a more characteristic ware, with perhaps a very limited range.

One instance is recorded from Norfolk, in which the coins were put away in a Samian cup stamped with the name of a potter *Sosianus*, who must accordingly have been making Samian ware just before A.D. 176, the date of the latest coin contained in the cup which he had made. Now if we could find a hoard deposited in a cup made by Albucius or Borillus or some other of the potters whose productions occur in pits at Chesterford or in graves at Girton, we should have at least a presumptive clue to the date of those pits and graves. And the evidence would be nearly as satisfactory, if, instead of a particular name, we could appeal to some marked peculiarity in the fabric or the pattern.

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These speculations however are at present of the nature of castles in the air. Much evidence must be collected before any conclusions can be drawn; and from the nature of the case evidence is forthcoming only now and then. But the first thing necessary is that no opportunities should be lost of recording such items as offer themselves to our notice.

It only remains for me to enumerate the varieties which are known to have occurred among the coins which the vase contained. I have examined 243[1], or nearly half the whole number found, according to statements made at the time: of these I have written a minute account which will speak for itself.

The number of pieces belonging to each reign is shewn in the following summary:

Gallienus	31	
Salonina	5	37
Saloninus	1	
Postumus		12
Victorinus		101
Laelianus		1
Marius		1
Tetricus	41	52
Tetricus caesar	11	
Claudius		19
Aurelianus	2	3
Severina	1	
Tacitus		6
Probus		9
Diocletianus		2
		243

[1] That I have been able to describe so many is due to the kindness of several persons, to whom I wish to express my thanks; and especially of Miss Peckover, of Wisbeach, into whose possession 60 of them came.

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LIST OF REVERSES.

Gallienus (A.D. 253–268).

(i) AEQVITAS AVG. In right area VI.
(ii) AETERNITAS AVG. In area Γ (another without any letter in area).
(iii) APOLLINI CONS AVG. Some animal to left. In exergue M (?)
(iv) DIANAE CONS. Stag to left. In exergue XII.
(v) DIANAE CONS . . . Antelope to left. In exergue II.
(vi) DIANAE CONS AVG. Goat (?) to left. In exergue ϵ.
(vii) FELICIT AVG. In left area P.
(viii) FIDES MILITVM.
(ix) FORTVNA REDVX. In right area ϛ. Two similar.
(x) IOVI VLTORI. In left area S. Two similar.
(xi) LAETITIA AVG. Four, not quite alike.
(xii) LEG IIXX VI . . . Capricorn to right.
(xiii) PAX AVG. In left area V. Two similar.
(xiv) PAX AVG. In area S—I.
(xv) PM TR P VII COS. Figure at an altar. In exergue MD.
(xvi) PROVI AVG. In right area II. Two similar.
(xvii) SECVRIT ORBIS. Seated figure. In exergue T.
(xviii) SECVRIT PERPET. Standing figure. In right area II.
(xix) SECVR TEMPO. Standing figure. (exergue off the coin.)
(xx) SOLI CONS AVG. A flying horse.
(xxi) VBERITAS AVG. Figure with bag and cornucopiae. In area C or ϵ. Two similar.
(xxii) VICTORIA AET. A Victory to left. In left area Z.

Salonina (wife of Gallienus).

(i) FECVNDITAS AVG. One with V in area, one without.
(ii) VENVS GENETRIX.
(iii) VESTA. Seated figure with patera.
(iv) VESTA FELIX. Standing figure with patera and wand.

Cornelius Saloninus.

DIVO CAESARI VALERIANO. *Rev.* CONSECRATIO. An altar.

Postumus.

(i) COS IIII. Winged figure with right hand raised, while the left hand grasps the middle of a tall palm branch, which rests on the ground. Two similar. (*silvered*)
(ii) FELICITAS AVG. Female figure with long caduceus in right hand, cornucopiae in left. *weight 63 grs.* (*fine billon*)
(iii) HERC PACIFERO.
(iv) IMP X COS V. Figure as in (i).

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(v) MONETA AVG. (*white billon*)

(vi) PAX AVG. In left area P. Three similar; one, thicker than usual, weighs 74½ grs.; (all show traces of silvering).

(vii) PM TR P X COS V PP. Figure with branch in right hand, wand in left. (*traces of silvering*)

(viii) SAECVLI FELICITAS. Figure to right, left hand bearing a globe, while the right holds a spear sloped forward.

(ix) VIRTVS EQVIT. Armed figure with spear and shield, advancing to right. *Obv.* IMP P .... AVG. (*billon silvered*)

Victorinus.

(i) AEQVITAS AVG. Figure with scales and cornucopiae. Three similar.

(ii) ....S MILITAS. (No doubt blundered for FIDES MILITVM.) Figure with two standards. *Obv.* IMP C PIAV VICTORINVS P F AVG.

(iii) INVICTVS. Figure with radiated crown moving rapidly to left: right arm extended, in left hand a whip. In left area *. Twenty-one similar: one weighs 83 grs.

(iv) PAX AVG. In area V—*. Thirty similar: the obverse of one reads IMP C PIAV VICTORINVS P F AVG.

(v) PIETAS AVG. Figure offering at an altar. Thirteen similar.

(vi) PROVIDENTIA AVG. Figure with wand and cornucopiae. Seven similar.

(vii) SALVS AVG. Figure with dress thrown up over her left arm. Fifteen similar.

(viii) SALVS AVG. Figure feeding a serpent. Four similar.

(ix) VIRTVS AVG. Helmeted figure with long spear upright in right hand, left resting on shield. Five similar.

(x) VIRTVS AVG. Figure as in (iii).

(xi) Reverse illegible.

Laelianus.

IMP C LAELIANVS P F AVG. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVG. Victory marching to right, with wreath and long palm.

Marius.

IMP C M AVR MARIVS AVG. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVG. Victory standing to left, with wreath and long palm.

Tetricus.

(i) COMES AVG. Winged figure to left, with wreath and palm. Two similar.

(ii) FIDES MILITVM. Two similar.

(iii) HILARITAS AVGG. Eleven similar.

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(iv) LAETITIA AVG N. Four similar.
(v) LAETITIA AVGG. Three similar.
(vi) PAX AVG. Three similar.
(vii) SALVS AVGG. Seven similar.
(viii) VICTORIA AVG.
(ix) VIRTVS AVGG. Armed figure holding a spear in his left hand, and leaning his right on a shield. Seven similar.
(x) Reverse illegible.

Tetricus Caesar.

Obv. C PIVESV TETRICVS CAES.
(i) PAX AVG.
(ii) SPES AVGG. Female figure holding up her dress. Eight similar.
(iii) SPES PVBLICA. Same figure. Two similar.

Claudius Gothicus.

(i) AEQVITAS AVG. Another, in area S.
(ii) ANNONA AVG. Figure on prow, with cornucopiae and ears of wheat(?).
(iii) CONSECRATIO. An attenuated eagle. *Obv.* DIVO CLAVDIO.
(iv) FELICITAS AVG.
(v) FIDES EXERCI.
(vi) FIDES MILIT. In exergue S.
(vii) FIDES MILITVM. In right area ϵ.
(viii) FORTVNA REDVX.
(ix) [GENIUS] AVG. Male figure with patera and cornucopiae. In area Γ.
(x) IOVI VICTORI. Jupiter naked with spear and thunderbolt. Three similar, two of them with M in right area.
(xi) PAX AVG.
(xii) SPES AVG.
(xiii) [VBERI]TAS AVG.
(xiv) VIRTVS AVG. Helmeted figure to right, with trophy on left shoulder, while his right hand points a spear forward. In exergue P(?)
(xv) VIRTVS AVG. Helmeted figure to left with upright spear, extending in right hand a branch. In right area ϵ. Another with no letter in area, *silvered.*

Aurelianus.

(i) GENIVS ILLY. Genius with patera and cornucopiae: on the right, a standard. In exergue P.
(ii) SOLI INVICTO. Winged figure with globe in left hand, right extended: at his feet two captives. In exergue C..XT.
(*silvered*)

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Severina.

PROVIDEN DEOR. On the right female figure with two standards, radiated male figure meets her with right hand raised. In exergue AXXT. (*silvered*)

Tacitus (A.D. 275–276).

(i) CLEMENTIA TEMP. Female (?) figure with wand, leaning her left arm on a pillar. In exergue .. IZ. (*silvered*)
(ii) FIDES MILITVM. In exergue BA. (*silvered*)
(iii) PROVID DEOR. (*silvered*)
(iv) SALVS AVG. (*silvered*)
(v) SPES PVBLICA. (*silvered*)
(vi) TEMPORVM FELICITAS. In area A—A. (*silvered*)

Probus (A.D. 276–282).

(i) ABVNDANTIA AVG. Figure pouring something from a cornucopiae. In exergue IIIL
(ii) FELICIT TEMP. Female figure with caduceus in her right hand, a spear or long wand in her left. In exergue II. (*silvered*)
(iii) FIDES MILITVM. Figure with two standards. In exergue III. (*silvered*)
(iv) PAX AVG. In left area D. (*silvered*)
(v) PAX AVG. In exergue €XXI. *Obv.* IMP C PROBVS AVG. (*silvered*)
(vi) ROMAE AETERNAE. A seated figure in a temple with six columns. In exergue R→←A. *Obv.* Bust to left, with sceptre. (*silvered*)
(vii) SALVS AVG. In area B.
(viii) SOLI INVICTO. Sun in quadriga to left. In exergue .P⌣B. *Obv.* Bust to left, with sceptre. (*silvered*)
(ix) TEMPOR FELICI. Female figure with branch (?) and cornucopiae. (*silvered*)

Diocletianus (A.D. 284–).

(i) IOVI CONSER AVGG. Jupiter standing with spear and thunderbolt: at his feet an eagle, In the field B. (*billon*)
(ii) IOVI CONSERVAT AVGG. The same figure with right arm raised. (*silvered*)

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XVI. Omphale, in the Spoils of Hercules. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[5 March, 1883.]

The discovery of an antique *cameo* in British soil is so rare an event that any well authenticated instance deserves to be brought under the notice of archæologists. The gem, here figured to the actual size, was found about two feet from the

surface, in the course of excavations for the laying of gas-pipes in the ancient city of Caerleon, *Isca Silurum*, some time in the year 1882. The material is a sardonyx of three layers, but so bleached by the heat of the funeral pyre to which it had accompanied its original owner, as to present the appearance of a piece of oyster-shell; and to remind us forcibly of what Propertius noticed in the changed looks of Cynthia's ghost:

Et solitam digito beryllon *adederat* ignis.

The subject is a theme much affected by Roman art on account

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of the strong contrast it involves of the extremes of Beauty and Savagery combined—the Head of the Lydian queen Omphale, equipped with the Nemean Lion's hide, of which she has despoiled her submissive lover, Hercules: whom for a similar reason the same artists often depicted with face under the veil of his imperious mistress. The work is a masterpiece of its class, the face is finely modelled and full of life, in all the conscious pride of beauty, and the shaggy character of the lion's skin is represented with much fidelity to nature: the relief too is high, and, when assisted by the naturally contrasted colours of the yet uninjured material—which would render the lion's hide in buff, the face in pearly white, and the background in dark brown—the design must have come out with great effect.

These compositions, besides their elegance, have an historical interest attached to them; for there can be no doubt that many among their number preserve the portrait of a woman of great note and influence for good in her day, represented too under a character that typifies the nature of that influence. Conjugated heads of Hercules and Omphale are very numerous on gems, of which the style bespeaks one and the same period, and that the highest epoch of Roman art, the second century of our era. This sudden outburst of taste in one *direction* is sufficiently explained to us by the history of the times, in the seven years' ascendancy of the celebrated *Marcia*[1] over the "Roman Hercules," as he styled himself, the emperor Commodus. What are the finest medallions in the imperial series exhibit his head, covered with the lion's neck, and *conjugated* with the portrait of Marcia with helmet and *pelta*, in the character of Queen of the Amazons—nay, even his own signet bore his Amazonian enslaver for its device[2]. And though the

[1] The protectress of Pope Victor I. and his flock.

[2] "super hoc ad procuratores meos literas misi quas ipse signatas excipias *signo Amazonio*" (Capitolinus, *Clod. Albin.* II.).

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historian does not condescend to further particulars of the emperor's degradation, it naturally follows that the Lydian episode in the career of the demi-god supplied many parallels to artists desirous of paying court to the fair enchantress of his preposterous imitator. She often is seen in gems of the epoch just referred to, not merely in a bust, but at full length; and wielding, though with difficulty, the mighty *club* for which she has exchanged the *distaff* with her lover.

As the dimensions of this cameo considerably exceed those of an ordinary ring-stone, it must have been employed in some other form of personal ornament. It may have graced the large oval *fibula*, which acting like the modern *solitaire* fastened the *paludamentum* of the Tribune in command of the legion which kept in awe the fierce Silures[1]; as such a use for a cameo is conspicuously exhibited in the gem portrait of Caracalla in the grand "Family of Severus," belonging to the Paris cabinet; or if the owner were a Roman lady, carried so far into the remotest West by the tide of political circumstances, this cameo formed the central pendant to a necklace—the customary manner of displaying works of the kind that entered into the *mundus muliebris*, as many examples which are come down to our times complete sufficiently attest.

[1] The Welsh name of the place signifies, "The Camp of the Great Legion upon the Usk."

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XVII. On the Tabula Peutingeriana. Communicated by the Rev. Bryan Walker, M.A., LL.D.

[April 23, 1883.]

Part 1. *To what date this map must be referred.*

This is with good reason believed to be the most ancient map in existence: and there seems ground for supposing that it was transcribed in the 13th century from an earlier map, perhaps originally dating from the time of Augustus, but corrected up to the end of the second century of the Christian era.

The monk who wrote the "Annals of Colmar" has an entry, "anno 1265 mappam mundi descripsi in pelles duodecim pergameni"; and earnest search was frequently made for this "mappam mundi", but not till A.D. 1507 was any trace of it discovered. In that year we find the well-known scholar, Trithemius, negotiating for the purchase of an ancient map on sale at Worms. He failed to buy it, as 40 florins, the price demanded, deterred him; and Conrad Celtes became its owner, and at his death bequeathed it to Conrad Peutinger. Another story, however, is to be mentioned, that Celtes borrowed it from the monastery of Tegernsee in Bavaria, and wrongfully detained it: and this story is connected with an earlier legend, that Werinher, a monk of Tegernsee, copied it from the older document, whilst "Rupert was Abbot of the Monastery"; which we find to have been between A.D. 1155

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and 1186. But certain manifest interpolations accord better with the date of A.D. 1265 for the transcription, as I shall shew in the sequel.

The map remained for a long time in the keeping of the Peutinger family; but, the descendants of Conrad not inheriting their ancestor's literary tastes, nothing was heard of it for another century and a half; when Welser, a relation of the family, unearthed it once more, and brought out the first printed edition, a very poor one, in 1682. Hornius next published the map in much better form in 1686: and the editions of Scheyb and Mannert followed, the latter appearing in A.D. 1824. The MS. itself was sold by Ignatius, the last of the Peutingers, to Kuhz, a bookseller, in A.D. 1714. From Kuhz Prince Eugene of Savoy bought it in A.D. 1720; and by his will it passed in A.D. 1738 to the Emperor, Charles VI, through whose gift it now rests in the Imperial Library of Vienna.

I will first suggest the reasons there are for supposing it was copied by some German monk in the 13th century; and then proceed to consider the indications of the date, and possible history, of what he transcribed.

The transcriber evidently was ignorant of the designations of places in Italy and Greece, and, in fact, had little knowledge of any country except that close to the Rhine. The blunders he makes in transcribing names shew not only that he had before him some faded and damaged document, but that he was profoundly ignorant of ancient history and geography. He writes Etrura, Brittius, Luccania, Epitaurus, Dyrratio, Bennebento, Regio, Phinippopolis: Igeum for Aegeum, Trhacia for Thracia, Isteria for Istria, Blaboriciaco for Lauriaco, Iepirus for Epirus, &c. &c. His errors, however, are not confined to any part of the map, though they are very rare in Germany. In Table I. Riger is written for Liger; Nenniso for Nemauso; Patavia for Batavia; Seifi for Sitifi, &c. So also in Table II. "Lugdune usque hic legas" for "Lugduno, usque

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hic Leugas"; Vigenna for Vienna; Burcturi for Bructeri, &c.: and so on[1]. There is clear internal evidence that the transcriber was a Rhinelander; for in the map no forests are marked, except the *Silva Vosagus*, and the *Silva Marciana* (the Black Forest) (II, III), but these are named, and noted by rough sketches of rows of trees, drawn on a scale quite out of proportion to the other symbols on the map. The only other instance of pictures of trees is near Antioch (X). And at Antioch, as at Rome and Constantinople, in place of the symbols usually employed in the map to denote a town of importance (to be hereafter described) we find elaborate medallions or pictures. These present us with human figures, mediæval in every detail of their dress and insignia, and having no resemblance to classical models. The emblem of Antioch (X), in particular, is a Virgin and Child, seated upon a bridge of many arches, clearly the famed Iron Bridge, with one side of the city or symbol surrounded by trees[2]. Antioch, to judge by the elaboration of its medallion, was in the transcriber's eyes a place of the utmost

[1] The editors, Hornius and Mannert, whose editions are the most accessible, have printed the surviving *eleven* sheets of the MS. (see p. 251) in *twelve* sections or tables; and these tables will be referred to in the present paper by Roman numerals within brackets, thus (II).

[2] In vol. 40, p. 38 of the *Arch. Journal* there is a note by Mr Bunnell Lewis to this effect: "Conrad Mannert, the editor of the Tabula Peutingeriana, pref. p. 19, speaking of the two figures on the site of Antioch in segmentum X, makes the following remark: Sanctam Mariam simul et Jesum Christum indicari vix est dubium. On the contrary, we have here an allegorical representation of Antioch and the river Orontes, derived from coins, which were miniature representations of a celebrated group by the sculptor Eutychides. Below these figures in the Tabula several arches of a bridge are distinctly marked...Brit. Museum *Catalogue of Greek coins*, (Seleucid Kings of Syria) p. 103, and plate XXVII (Seleucidæ) 5, 6: Eckhel *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. III. pp. 247, 248."

The Seleucid coins referred to have scarcely any resemblance to the medallion in the Tabula. The river is represented in them, not as a child in the lap, but as a full-size figure swimming beneath the feet of Antioch. I think the one idea may possibly have suggested the other: but in any case the symbol in the Tabula is unmistakably Christian.

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importance, and in some way intimately connected with Christianity: and we know that Antioch was in Christian hands, and the stronghold of the Crusaders till A.D. 1268, when it fell into the power of the Infidels. The curious effigy at Constantinople (VIII), again, does not represent a Greek emperor, and is without the crown, sceptre and orb, which are borne by the figure placed at Rome; but it would serve well to indicate the Count of Flanders or one of his Latin successors[1].

That a Christian hand transcribed the map is also plain from several curious entries; as in Arabia (IX) "desertum ubi quadraginta annos erraverunt filii Israel ducente Moyse"; and over Mt. Sinai, "hic legem acceperunt in Monte Sina": and yet a proof that the copy was from an older original is furnished in the insertion of "ad Dianam" close to the holy mount; just as we have a reminiscence of earlier things in the "Byzantini" (VIII) placed close to "Constantinopolis." The interruption of the lines of road, passing near the three great cities, is another proof that the medallions are interpolations. We have further "Mons Oliveti" (IX), with an exaggerated indication of lofty hills, close to "antea dicta Hierusalem, nunc Helya Capitolina"; of which six words the first four are presumably additions made by the 13th century transcriber.

And yet, in spite of these exceptional notices, the general character of the map is *not* Christian. There are, for instance, nearly six hundred references in it to heathen temples and worship[2]: and it appears to correspond best in its details with the state of affairs in the Roman Empire about the year 200 A.D., or a trifle earlier. It has been assigned to the reigns of Theodosius, Constantine and Alexander Severus; but my

[1] The Latin Princes at Constantinople were Baldwin, 1204; Henry, 1206; Peter de Courtenay, 1217; Robert de Courtenay, 1221; John de Brienne and Baldwin II, 1228; Baldwin II. alone, 1237—1261.

[2] For instance an *Iseum* or a *Serapeum* stands on almost every one of the islands into which the Delta of the Nile divides itself.

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opinion is that it belongs to that of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus, and was a copy of an official or imperial map, painted on a wall or walls for public reference.

We are informed by Aethicus, who wrote in the fourth century, that a survey of the Roman territory was ordered by the Senate in the consulship of Julius Cæsar and Marcus Antonius (B.C. 44), and that the measurements were taken by three *metatores*, Zenodoxus in the East, Theodotus in the North, Polyclitus in the South; to whom some add Didymus in the West[1]. This survey occupied altogether 32 years. Pliny further records[2] that M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who laid down new roads through Gallia and Hispania, and towards the Danube, also, with the sanction, doubtless, of Augustus, drew up a map of all the roads from his own knowledge[3] (which he also embodied in his Commentaries) and from the surveys of these Greeks: and that the map was painted in his portico for public inspection. This map, we also gather from Pliny, was corrected from time to time, when new roads were constructed, old roads diverted, or errors discovered. It is highly probable that this map, though at different times, was the model of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in its original shape, and also the source from which the *Itinerarium Antonini* was compiled. For private map-making was apparently discouraged, Metianus Pomposianus being charged with a capital offence in the reign of Domitian "quod depictum Orbem Terrarum in membrana circumferret[4]"; whilst, on the other hand, inspection of the public maps was encouraged, if we may judge from the words of Propertius, "Cogor et e tabula pictos cognoscere mundos[5];" and from the advice of

[1] The name of Didymus occurs only in the Vatican MS.; which also puts Nicodomus instead of Zenodoxus. But this MS. is full of errors, and the agreement of the others is in favour of their reading.

[2] *Hist. Nat.* III. 2.

[3] See Strabo 4. 6. 11; 5. 3. 9; 5. 4. 6; 13. 1. 19; for the great engineering achievements of Agrippa.

[4] Sueton. *Domit.* 10.

[5] Propert. 4. 3. 36.

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Eumenius Rhetor, that boys should study in the porticoes the "orbem depictum[1]." The public maps would also be the only maps on another account; for we cannot suppose that any private person, even if the attempt were not treasonable, could afford the time and cost of a survey on his own account.

The Itinerary of Antonine shews clearly when it was compiled, being replete with indications of Constantine or the Tetrarchy, as Diocletianopolis, Maximianopolis, and the like, which are entirely absent from the *Tabula Peutingeriana.*

The ascription of the latter to the reign of Theodosius seems based only on a rhythmical account of a transcription of a map of the world, written by a cotemporary, and preserved by a writer of the ninth century, Ducuil; "miserrimo scriptore," as Mannert pleases to add. This is as follows:

> **Hoc opus egregium, quo mundi summa tenetur,**
> **Aequora quo montes, fluvii, portus, freta et urbes**
> **Signantur.**
> **Theodosius princeps venerando jussit ab ore**
> **Confici, ter quinis aperit dum fascibus (*al.* fastibus) annum.**
> **Supplices hoc famuli, dum scribit, pingit et altor,**
> **Mensibus exiguis, veterum monumenta secuti,**
> **In melius reparamus opus, culpamque priorem**
> **Tollimus, ac totum breviter comprendimus orbem.**

This, if the reading be *fascibus*, must refer to Theodosius II, who was consul eighteen times, whilst the elder Theodosius only held the office thrice.

But Theodosius II, being Emperor of the East only, could hardly have thought of such a map, or had the power to institute a general survey; and in any case the mention of one official writing, whilst the other painted, and the fact of the work being completed in a few months, points rather to a mere recension of an old map than to a new survey. In fact there is really nothing to connect the *Tabula* with the work of

[1] In his *Oratio pro instaurandis scholis*, c. 20 and 21.

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the scribes of Theodosius; but the passage from Ducuil is worth quoting, to shew that there was some earlier original; and it would appear that the *Tabula* was taken from it at a date prior to either Theodosius, and prior even to Constantine. The introduction of the name *Constantinopolis* I have already suggested to be an interpolation of the 13th century transcriber, who did not take the pains to alter the adjacent *Byzantini*. *Cirta* (III) in Africa, which, like Byzantium, had its name changed in honour of Constantine, remains *Cirta* in the Tabula; so also Edessa (VII), is still *Edessa*, though it became Diocletianopolis. Ostudizus (VIII) had not been yet renamed Nicæa, and, though its name is misspelled, it can be recognized in *Hostiho*. In Syria we have Antaradus (X) (*Andarado*) and not Constantia: in Thrace *Porsuli* (VIII) and not Maximianopolis. The map also contains a careful delineation of provinces lost long before Constantine; and we can hardly suppose that they were retained from an unwillingness to confess that their loss was final, but more probably because the map refers to a period before they were severed from the Empire.

The province of Valeria, between the two Pannonias, so named by Galerius in honour of his wife[1], is not indicated. Neither is there any reference to Constantine's division of Gaul into 17 Provinces; but the older partition into Belgica, Lugdunensis and Aquitania is retained. This is, I think, enough to shew that the *Tabula* refers to a date earlier than Constantine: but we can approximate still more closely to the time, by noting that it contains no record of towns of later foundation than the reign of M. Aurelius (Constantinople excepted), though notice is taken of several connected with the names of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines; one Hadrianopolis in Thrace (VIII), another in the African Pentapolis (VIII), and a third in the southern part of Dalmatia (VI); also Hadrianuteba in Asia (IX), Pons

[1] Sext. Aurel. Victor, c. 40.

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Adriani near Rome (v), Colonia Trajana on the Rhine (i), Vicus Aureli in Gætulia (iii), Forum Aureli in Tuscany (iv), via Aurelia leading out of Rome (v). We have also Marcianopolis in Mœsia (vii), which we know was so designated by Trajan in honour of his sister; and Nicopolis (*Nicopolistro*) (vii), which he built and named to commemorate his Dacian victories. Trajan's province of Dacia, N. and E. of the Danube (vii), is fully mapped with roads and stations, and with Castra Trajana marked, and the three roads across the Danube. This, again, cannot be a mere reminiscence of former conquests: for if the map had been constructed after A.D. 270, when Aurelian removed the Dacians to a new Dacia (Aureliana), between the two provinces of Mœsia (vi), we should not find those provinces contiguous, as they are in the map. M. Aurelius, we know, never abandoned Dacia, and died at Sirmium or Vindobona whilst carrying on war with success in its defence. The absence of Vicus Aurelii in the Agri Decumates is another corroboration of the proof; for this town was named after Caracalla, who assumed the name of Aurelius as well as of Antoninus[1]. *Aris Flaviis* (iii), marked in the same district, shews that the map is, at any rate, later than the commencement of the 120 miles of rampart, raised by Domitian, and afterwards prolonged 240 miles further. Aris Flaviis seems to have been at Wetzheim near Stuttgard, according to Hodgkin: Domitian's rampart ran from near Ratisbon to Wetzheim. As a further proof, we may notice that Perinthus (viii), called by that name in the map, was afterwards Heraclea; and that the *agri Byzantini*, also marked, were given by Sept. Severus to Perinthus, and soon after lost their ancient name.

But the clearest identification of the date of the map can

[1] Centum Cellae (Civita Vecchia) where Trajan made a harbour, and which in his life-time was called *Trajani Portus*, is in the Tabula *Centum Cellis* again; shewing that the old name had again come into use, as we know from other sources that it did almost immediately.

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be arrived at by noticing the names and relative positions of the barbarian neighbours of the Empire. We have *Francia* (I) entirely on the eastern bank of the Rhine, though the Franks in the reign of Valerian or Gallienus, between A.D. 253 and 268, overran Batavia and Gallia, and, in spite of the victories mendaciously attributed to Postumus, were never fairly dislodged; pressing forward continually, till before 360 A.D. they had founded their kingdom of Toxandria, overrun Spain, and crossed into Mauritania. The position, then, of Francia only proves the map to be earlier than the time of Gallienus; but there are other more definite indications of date. The map must have been drawn before the confederacy of the Franks was completed; for out of the eight nations which composed it, Catti, Chauci, Cherusei, Attuarii, Bructeri, Chamavi, Salii, Sigambri, two are set down as still distinct from the Franks, viz. the Chauci (*Chaci*) and Bructeri (*Burcturi*) (I, II), and the Chamavi (I) had only lately been absorbed, as is indicated by the note, "Chamavi qui et Franci." When the Frank confederacy commenced it is not easy to say[1]; but Tiberius and Drusus fought against the Bructeri, Cherusei, Sigambri and Chatti, and there is no mention of Franci in the records of their campaigns. The Alamanni and Suevi (II, III), again, in our map are not yet one united nation, though marked as neighbours; and the Alamanni are not known to Roman history prior to the time of the Antonines; being an association of Suevic volunteers, as the Franks seem to have been of warriors of the non-Suevic tribes. They emerged from obscurity, probably coalescing with the Suevi in general, in the time of Caracalla[2]; penetrated as far as Ravenna in the time of Valerian and Gallienus; and Aurelian, Constantius

[1] Gibbon makes the completion of the confederacy to date from 240 A.D. But probably it was formed gradually.

[2] They permanently occupied the Agri Decumates from about 260 A.D.; but the map appears to place them further north.

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Chlorus and Julian had to meet their incursions at ever-varying points.

The Vandals in the map have already moved from the Baltic, and are living on the left of the Danube, almost opposite Ratisbon. If the map were of Constantine's time, they would have to be placed in Pannonia and Illyricum. Behind them we have the Marcomanni (III), against whom Tiberius fought, when they lived north of the Black Forest: but we know that they moved to the south and east, under Maroboduus, at the end of the reign of Augustus: and so we seem to find them placed. The curious entry *QIUVAZDUGII* (IV) is evidently QUADI and JUZUGI intermixed, and the letters can be discriminated as of different colours. We have the first mention of the latter, as allies of the Quadi, in the campaigns of M. Aurelius: though the Quadi and Sarmatæ are said to have been chastised by Domitian, but more probably chastised him[1]. A fragment of a name BUR (IV) may intimate that the Burgundians were the next tribe to the east occupying a district opposite Ferrol and Buda[2]. Of Sarmatians the map makes frequent mention: the Juzugi or Jazyges, just mentioned, were a Sarmatian tribe; and we have notice of the Sarmate Vagi, Amaxobii Sarmate, Lupiones, Venati, and Roxolani (V, VI, VII) as neighbours of Trajan's Dacia; which accords with Pliny's account, that the Sarmatians pushed the Dacians over the Danube soon after the reign of Augustus, and established themselves between the Carpathians and the river. The mention of Venati Sarmatæ in this district, and of the Venedi at the mouth of the Danube (VIII), shews the presence of another Sclavonic race, the Wends, or as they called themselves, Servi:

[1] Still earlier the Quadi are mentioned in conjunction with the Marcomanni. See Tacit. *Germ.* § 42. The "thundering legion" of M. Aurelius was in the field against the Quadi.

[2] The Burgundians about 350 A.D., in the time of Valentinian, had moved further north, and occupied both sides of the river Elbe.

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a large portion of whom were incorporated with the Goths, when that nation swept into Mœsia and Thrace in the reign of Decius[1]. In our map the Venedi and Sarmatæ are still distinct nations, as are also the Bastarnæ or Blastarni (VII), all three of which tribes the Goths incorporated with themselves before the reign of Valentinian. We find, in fact, no indication of the Goths in the map; but we have Getæ between the rivers Danubius and Agalingus (VIII), the latter being either the Pruth or the Dniester: and this accords with what Spartianus tells us, that the Goths, on their appearance upon the borders of the Euxine, were called at first Getæ: "Gothos tunc Getas dictos esse[2]." We can scarcely accept the legend that the Goths were allies of Mithridates, and on his defeat moved from the shores of the Euxine to Scandinavia or Scania: but the Guttones mentioned by Pytheas seem to be the Goths. According to Pytheas they dwelt to the south of the great gulf, Mentonomon, as far as the Tanais, which is probably the Vistula: and we suppose that from Prussia and Pomerania a portion had passed into Scandinavia, and that another large body afterwards moved southwards; till in the reign of Alexander Severus they were almost in their old legendary quarters near the Crimea: and the Getæ in our map may represent the heads of their advancing column. The Alans are also placed (IX) near the Lacus Salinaris, in the neighbourhood apparently of the Caspian. This tribe is said to have appeared in Media and Armenia in the time of Vespasian; whilst in the time of Marcus they shewed themselves north of the Black Sea; which is fairly accordant with their position as here shewn. The Roxolani (*Roxulani Sarmatæ*), with whom Hadrian had a successful struggle, ending in the frustration of their attempt to

[1] They attacked Marcianopolis, Nicopolis and Philippopolis; and defeated and killed Decius at Forum Teretronii, A.D. 251: but were driven out again by Aurelian in A.D. 253.

[2] Spart. *Caracall.* 10.

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enter Mœsia, are also shewn (VIII) in occupation of a district to the N.W. of the Euxine. Marcus is mentioned by Julius Capitolinus as giving a king to the Lazi, who lived beyond the Phasis, in which locality approximately this tribe, of which we have little further record, is to be seen (IX) in the *Tabula*. Thus the arrangement of the Barbarian Tribes accords in almost every detail with what we know of their distribution in the reign of M. Aurelius.

Let us now look at the representation of the Eastern frontier. Palmyra, destroyed in A.D. 273 by Aurelian, is represented (X) as a flourishing city, with several roads leading to it through the desert. From the careful delineation of the roads in Mesopotamia, and from the fact that Parthia (*Parria* in the map, XI) is included in a larger district, denoted Persida, some critics have been inclined to assign the map to the time of Alexander Severus, who is known to have had much warfare on the Eastern frontier, and made or repaired roads in Mesopotamia, and is said to have instructed Achelous to record his "actus et itinera." But "itinera" may just as well mean his "travels" as his "roads"; and M. Aurelius was quite as much concerned with the affairs of the East as Alexander Severus; in fact Gibbon casts great doubt on the reputed victories of Alexander[1]. Persida, in our map, appears to be a district partly within and partly without the Roman Empire, and therefore not an independent power. The Persians, we allow, did not wrest the supremacy from the Parthians till about A.D. 226; but the title Persida may long before have been a name applied to the region over which the Persians had ruled in earlier times. We know that the generals of Marcus fought battles with success at Europos (XII) and Sure (X), both of which are noted in the *Tabula*; and just beyond Sure is marked "fines exercitus Syriatice, et commertium barbarorum,"

[1] Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. 8.

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the road ending abruptly at the same point. So also a road leading to Ctesiphon (*Cesiphun*) stops there, as if that was the limit of Roman knowledge in another direction: and this Ctesiphon is at a great distance from Seleucia; and cannot possibly correspond with the Ctesiphon, three miles from Seleucia, which Marcus utterly destroyed by fire. Ctesiphon seems to have been the name for the moving camp or capital of the Great King (see Gibbon ch. 8); and after the sack of the Ctesiphon near Seleucia, it is not improbable that the royal head-quarters would be moved further into the interior. And the map leads us to infer that this second Ctesiphon was also taken, and became the limit of the Roman conquests. Babylon also, we know, was taken, but not retained, the Persian king purchasing peace from Marcus by the cession of Mesopotamia, exactly as the map would lead us to conclude, for no road leads from the Roman territory to Babylon (XI). Artaxata was taken by one of Marcus' generals, A. Cassius; and here too the roads beyond, after a short circuit, return to Artaxata; as if here again the Romans came to an end of their communications (XI). It may, in fact, be noted that although roads are marked in the Eastern half of the 11th section of the map (as given by Mannert), and in the 12th, these roads are not in communication with the roads of the Roman Empire, and are clearly tracks only known by report, or discovered during the invasions of Marcus' generals. Again, although a road with stations is marked as running through Iberia and Albania (XI), it is disconnected from the Roman road-system, and may be a road constructed in these provinces during their brief annexation by Trajan[1]. Europos and Sure are places of no importance except as the scenes of victory in the time of M. Aurelius; Elegeia (*Elegarsina*) (X) is the fort whose destruction by the Parthians provoked the Romans to war; and the inference thus suggested

[1] Iberia and Albania were abandoned by Hadrian, and not recovered by M. Aurelius.

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is confirmed in quite another part of the map, where we have the names of two towns, of no importance and denoted by no pictorial symbols, written in capital letters, a rare mode of lettering in the map. These are Lorium on the Via Aurelia (v), 12 miles from Rome, and Ugernum, close to Nemausus or Nismes (I): and the fact may be explained by the circumstances that T. Antoninus was educated at Lorium, and died there; and that his family came originally from the neighbourhood of Nismes, Ugernum possibly being the exact place of their origin.

The evidence on the whole seems strongly to lead us to the inference that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* was derived from the map of Vipsanius Agrippa, as corrected and recast at the end of the reign of M. Aurelius; and, it may be, also renewed by the two scribes of Theodosius; and that it was once more transcribed, with many verbal errors, and with some very transparent interpolations, in the middle of the 13th century; then buried in the library of a monastery for 350 years, and brought to light again in 1507 A.D., from which time it is easily traceable.

Part 2. *The bearing of the Tabula on the topography of Britain about* 200 A.D.

The fragment of our island depicted in the Tabula is a very small one; not because, as Scheyb supposed, Britain was for a while lost to the Romans, but because one of the original twelve sheets of the Tabula has been destroyed. There is clearly a margin to the outer edge of the first of the sheets remaining, as if left for the purpose of glueing on another; and there is nothing corresponding at the extremity of the last sheet of the series. The printed map, in Mannert's edition, is now in 12 compartments, but this arrangement has been made for convenience by dividing the eleven original sheets into twelve. It will at once be noticed that only the East coast of Britain as far to the north as what is now Norfolk, is de-

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picted; together with what appears at first sight to be only a *portion* of the South Coast. But we perceive from the mention of Exeter (Isca Damnoniorum, which the scribe converts into Isca Dumnomorum) that the outline is greatly compressed and distorted, and the sketch is really intended to comprehend England as far as the Land's End. This is a mode of drawing which may be observed throughout every sheet of the map; and therefore, before proceeding further, a few remarks must be offered as to the plan on which the ancient geographer worked. His object was merely, or, at any rate, principally, to point out the order of the stations along the various roads. He evidently cared little for *direction*; but he was careful to insert the principal rivers, and hardly ever appears to make the mistake of placing a town on the wrong bank of an important stream. As to tributaries he is not so particular; his object with them seems to be merely to shew crossing-places; and if a tributary is tortuous, or cannot be introduced into his distorted map without traversing some road, contrary to fact, or some other river, contrary to nature, he omits it, or replaces it by some other imaginary river, so as to indicate a crossing in its proper situation. So, again, as to inlets of the sea, we observe throughout a remarkable contraction in the measurements from north to south; as, for instance, in the case of the Mediterranean Sea and the Bay of Biscay, with a corresponding enlargement to east and west in many cases; for the Mediterranean Sea runs through nearly ten out of the twelve plates which contain the *Orbem Veteribus Notum*. If the map was, as supposed, originally painted on the walls of a portico, it seems obvious that, to make the whole easily visible, it had to be submitted to this kind of distortion; which, by the way, is scarcely so excessive as that in the modern maps of the world on the projection named Mercator's.

Hence, judging from the analogy of the Bay of Biscay, &c., we may conclude that the estuary marked in the sketch of

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Britain is not intended merely to represent the Thames, but the whole of the wide opening in the coast line, from Orfordness to the North Foreland. In this opinion I am not singular. Sir G. Airy took the same view in his *Essay on the Invasion of Claudius*; and Prof. Pearson says, "Tacitus, whose father-in-law was governor of the island, apparently believed the estuary of the Thames to extend to Colchester[1]."

The map, in the portion of Britain represented, shews us six fortified camps or stations, Richborough, Dover, Hythe, Canterbury, Exeter and *Sinomagi*, which last by its position is evidently Sitomagus. These are represented as fortresses of a somewhat inferior kind, or of what may be styled the *fourth* class. For we find in the *Tabula* various forms of illustration employed to indicate places of greater or less importance. There are first a few cities represented by elaborate drawings of castellated buildings, viz. Apuleia, Ravenna, Ad Matricem in Dalmatia, Thessalonica, Nicomedia, Nicæa, and Ancyra the capital of Galatia[2]. We have already noticed the still more elaborate diagrams representing Rome, Byzantium and Antioch, and classed them as 13th century introductions. Probably these three cities were in the original denoted by pictures of the same type as those first mentioned. With this class of pre-eminent cities we may also reckon those bearing the name of *Aquae*, and represented by a picture of a rectangular bath, surrounded by rooms. Beacons are also depicted to symbolize Alexandria and Chrysopolis; and the piers and warehouses at Ostia and Marseilles are drawn with some amount of detail, and warehouses at Centum Cellis and Livissa, the port of Nicomedia. These being called the first class of stations, the second, third and fourth classes are represented by

[1] *Athenæum*, No. 1683 (28 Jan. 1860). Pearson's *Historical Maps*, p. 6.

[2] The unnamed figure in sheet 9 is evidently meant for Ancyra, though the transcriber has omitted its name. So also he omits the name of Alexandria, on the same sheet.

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double, or sometimes treble towers; surrounded, if of the second class, with a battlemented wall; whilst an oval surrounding line takes the place of the battlements in a town of class III., and in class IV. the towers stand alone[1]. Of this last kind we have almost countless examples; and, as already said, six in the S.E. and S.W. of Britain. Minor stations are denoted merely by flexures in the lines of road, and where the transcriber found space, and when he was not careless (as he so often was), a name was inserted in each flexure, the lettering running parallel with the road. Where space failed him he wrote two or three names, one below the other; and these will be found almost always to correspond in number with the flexures unlettered.

Looking again at the British portion of the map, we see marked a road running along the Kentish coast, from Richborough, through Dover, to Hythe (for it is now settled that Hythe was the *Portus Lemannus*)[2]: another from Dover through *Duroaverus*, i. e. *Durovernum* (Canterbury), to *Durolevum* (Milton or Faversham), *Rotibis* and *Madus*, to the West. *Rotibis*, by comparison with Antonine's Iter II.[3], is either a misspelling, or very probably a local appellation for *Durobrivae* (Rochester). As to the place intended by *Madus* there may

[1] In sheets 1—4, we have examples of this 2nd class at *Cosedia* (Coutances) in Gaul, afterwards called Constantia, after Constantius Chlorus: at *Mogontiacum* (Maintz): *Reginum* (Ratisbon): *Lucca* and *Tredentum* in Italy: *Tacape* in Africa.

So also there are examples of the third class at Nemausus (Nismes), written *Nenniso*: *Argentoratum* (Strasburg): and *Sarmategte* in Dacia Trajani.

[2] See papers by Messrs Lewin and W. H. Black in *Archaeologia*, vol. 40, pp. 361 and 375.

[3] The part of Antonine's Iter II. south of the Thames is

Londinium	10	miles to	Noviomagus:
Noviomagus	18	„ „	Vagniacae:
Vagniacae	9	„ „	Durobrivae:
Durobrivae	12	„ „	Durolevum:
Durolevum	12	„ „	Durovernum:
Durovernum	12	„ „	Portus Ritupis.

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be a little doubt: but probably for Madus, we should read Magus, and suppose *Noviomagus*, or Holwood Hill, to be indicated. There is a considerable resemblance between D and G in the lettering of the map, G being merely D with a long tail or flourish below, which flourish might be obliterated by time in the 3rd century MS., which the 13th century scribe had before him; and the prior syllable *Novio* may have been on the missing first sheet. The mileage is incorrectly marked; for instead of the VII miles noted in the *Tabula* between Canterbury and Milton, and the VII miles between Milton and Rochester, we should in each case read XII according to Antonine: but the exchange of X for V is one of the commonest mistakes in MSS. A station *Vagniacæ*, which Antonine inserts between *Durobrivæ* and *Noviomagus*, is not in the map; unless we take *Madus* to be this *Vagniacæ*, which has been suggested because Rochester is on the Medway or Madus: but, on the whole, it is better to suppose a mere omission of *Vagniacæ*, and *Madus* written for *Magus* or *Noviomagus;* for the *Tabula* sets down XVIII miles as the distance from *Madus* to the preceding station; which is exactly what Antonine gives as the distance from *Noviomagus* to *Vagniacæ*[1]. The figure after the name *Vagniacæ* (which should be IX according to Antonine) would, no doubt, be omitted with the name itself. However, be the station *Madus* what we please, one thing is clear, viz. that the road from Canterbury and Dover has no appearance of turning to the north or north-west, to cross the Thames at London; an important fact to which I shall shortly recur.

As to the road above this, we recognize it at once as Antonine's Iter IX, Venta Icenorum being beyond the line of severance of the sheets. The most Northern station indicated

[1] But 18 miles would also be about the distance from Rochester to Telegraph Hill, and so on to Holwood Hill, by the ancient British track, which Petrie shows between Keston Camp and Telegraph Hill, in his map of ancient Kent. *A. J.* vol. 35, p. 169.

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is *ad Taum*, or Tasburgh, about 6 miles south of Venta[1]; which Antonine does not mention[2], probably because it was so near to Venta, that troops marching to or from Venta would not make it a stopping place. The other stations marked are, with correction of the spelling, Sitomagus (*Sinomagi*), Combretonium (*Convetiū*), *ad Ansam*, *Camulodunum*, *Canonium*, Caesaromagus (*Baromasi* or *Baromagi*). Next, in Antonine's road, would come *Durolitium* and *Londinium*. If the name of *Durolitium* alone were missing, we might suppose it was owing to the carelessness of a foreign scribe, copying names in a country of which he had no local knowledge, and in which he felt little interest. But it is most remarkable that the crossing of the Thames is distinctly marked, without the least indication of the city of London. Dr Guest and others have, I think, proved beyond all doubt that, in the times with which we are dealing, there could have been no ford and no bridge lower than old London Bridge, if there was either so low[3]. London therefore is either situated where the crossing is marked, or nearer the sea: and yet the scribe has not indicated it at all, either by name or by picture; although elsewhere he appears to have carefully copied the pictures in his model, even when he failed to add the designation. The conclusion seems to be, that in the time of

[1] See Woodward's map of Roman Norfolk, *Archaeologia*, vol. 23, p. 358.

[2] Antonine's Iter IX stands thus:

Venta Icenorum	31	miles to	Sitomagus:
Sitomagus	22	„ „	Combretonium:
Combretonium	15	„ „	Ad Ansam:
Ad Ansam	6	„ „	Camulodunum:
Camulodunum	9	„ „	Canonium:
Canonium	12	„ „	Caesaromagus:
Caesaromagus	16	„ „	Durolitium:
Durolitium	15	„ „	Londinium.

[3] Besides, till the marshes on the Southwark side of London were drained (and none but the Romans could have drained them), it is impossible that London could have been approached directly from the S. or S.E. See as to these marshes Knight's *London*, vol. 1, pp. 74 and 146.

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M. Aurelius or Commodus A.D. 161—193, London, which, as we know, had been burned during the Boadicean revolt, had not sufficiently recovered to be marked, even as a fourth class station, in the military map of the Roman world.

On this supposition of the insignificance of London, I should suppose the road from Canterbury and the other road, above mentioned, to have had their junction either at Noviomagus (Holwood Hill), or even further to the west, if the crossing of the Thames in the map be not at London at all, but at Kingston, where Claudius is said to have built a bridge, or at Coway Stakes, which Dr Guest shews to be the lowest ford of the Thames, if we reject the notion of Claudius's bridge[1]. Supposing, however, the crossing to be at or near London, we may put the junction of the two roads at Holwood Hill, and consider this to be Noviomagus, which Antonine places 10 miles from London and 18 from *Vagniacæ* (Maidstone), distances which represent Holwood Hill very correctly. Reynolds, quoting Gibson[2], describes a great camp in that neighbourhood (probably meaning Keston), nearly two miles in circuit, with triple rampart and deep ditches; and this may have been occupied by the Romans, though originally constructed by the Britons. The extensive remains of Roman buildings, discovered hard by, are described in the *Archæologia*[3].

Near Streatham, on the modern road towards London, Gale and Bray[4] identified the meeting place of three Roman roads, one the Stane Street from Arundel, through Croydon and Dorking; another from the East, the road we are now tracing, called in later times the South Watling Street; a third

[1] See Guest on *The campaign of Aulus Plautius* in *Arch. J.* vol. 23, p. 159; and *Origines Celticae*, vol. 2.

[2] Reynolds's *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 228.

[3] A circular Roman temple of 30 feet diameter (with which compare that at Silchester), a large rectangular building, walls in the fields, called Upper and Lower Warfield, &c. *Archæologia*, vol. 22, p. 336.

[4] Bray in *Archæologia*, vol. 9, p. 96.

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from Kingston, through Wimbledon. These roads are marked by Hughes in the map of Roman Britain in *Monumenta Britannica*[1]. The upper road, therefore, in the map denotes in all probability one of Roman construction from *Noviomagus*, shortening both the original British route by Coway Stakes (Halliford), and the first Roman road through Kingston, by crossing the Thames at Horseferry, which Hearne describes as "ad occidentem Westmonasterii". This accords with what Sir H. Ellis says[2]: "the road from Chichester to Dunwich did not pass through London, but ran along the Old Street, north of London, and went to Old Ford, cutting the Watling Street at Tyburn." It is admitted on all hands that the Old Street was some distance from the London which existed prior to Constantine, and also clear of Constantine's London; and the traces of "Old London," i.e. London before Constantine, must be uncertain and indistinct (shewing Old London to be but an insignificant place), when we find such authorities as Black, Lewin, and C. Roach Smith[3] at variance on the important fact, whether it was to the east or west of the Wallbrook. Among the many thousands of Roman coins found between 1834 and 1841, in the dredging for the foundations of the new London Bridge, there were but few

[1] Gale's note (also quoted with approval by Tregallas in *Arch. J.* vol. 23, p. 265) is as follows: "A Londinio ubi decesseris ad Austrum, post CIↃ CIↃ pass. vel circiter, via publica dispescit (*sic*) se in tres semitas, quarum occidentalior per Wimbledune, (i.e. Windledune, ad Vindilin fluvium) et vallum Germanorum, qui hic sub A. Plautio meruere, pergit ad Kingstonium, vetus oppidum, (sed et sedem et nomen mutavit) haud dubie a primis Romanorum victoriis firmatum praesidiis, quemadmodum et Gatton, Bensbury, Wimbledune et Burrow super Bensteed Downs, aliaque circumjacentia ad Thamisin loca. Id situs et provinciae tutela postulabant. Hic Romani primo Thamisin per pontem trajiciebant, et forte Claudius ipse. Hic in dunis proximis ad Combe CIↃ pass. ab hodierno Kingstonio multi Romanorum nummi sunt effossi." *Antonini Iter* (ed. 1709), p. 71.

[2] *Archæologia*, vol. 27, p. 77.

[3] Black in *Archæologia*, vol. 40, p. 41: Lewin in *Archæologia*, vol. 40, p. 59: Roach Smith in *A. J.* vol. 1, p. 108.

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of early reigns; and those most abundant were coins of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, with another series of Carausius, Allectus, Constantine &c.[1] The medallions found were only three; one of M. Aurelius, one of Faustina, one of Commodus. Most probably the medallions indicate the exact date of the first bridge, being deposited under its foundations with some of the coins of the same date: whilst the others would be thrown in to propitiate the god of the stream; such appearing to be a custom of Roman travellers[2]. The second and later series will indicate, perhaps, a reconstruction of the bridge. There may have been a ferry at Dowgate, before the bridge, replacing the older ferry at Horseferry; and the construction of the bridge would account for commerce being drawn to London, and the city beginning to develope.

We may, therefore, explain why the Watling Street and Ermine Street are only conspicuous in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* by their absence. The Watling Street probably existed, but on reaching *Verulamium* turned to the south, and proceeded to Halliford, where the road from the Cattivelauni to the Atrebates crossed the Thames. The road would, no doubt, be diverted afterwards, first to Kingston, and next to London, as the bridges were built.

As to the Ermine Street, it has always been considered that this, the straightest of the Roman roads, was also the latest, and the most essentially Roman; not being a rectification of old tracks, as many others were. For when roads were constructed during the progress of conquest to connect forts, as they were

[1] Akerman's *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 4, p. 147.

[2] See Mr Watkin's paper in *A. J.* vol. 34, p. 132. In the reservoir at Procolitia were found many thousands of coins: also 24 altars, 11 with inscriptions, mostly dedications to Corentina. At Vicarello, near Rome, 24,000 pounds weight of Roman and Etruscan coins. At Bourbonne-les-Bains, at the source of the Seine, 4000 coins, with rings, statuettes, &c. So also at Abbot's Well near Chester, at Kirbythore, at Latton Ford near Cirencester, near the old bridge over the Tyne, &c. &c.

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established, they must of necessity have been tortuous. But when the country was settled and peaceful, it is equally natural to suppose that more direct roads would be laid out to connect the principal centres of population, commerce and military defence. Dr Guest has shown conclusively[1] that the nature of the country immediately north of London, marsh and dense woodland, must have prevented the construction of a direct North road in early days: and he seems inclined to consider the Ermine Street a Saxon work. But it is much more likely, I think, that it was made late in the time of the Roman domination. Antonine has no Iter corresponding to the line of the Ermine Street south of Godmanchester (Durolipons): therefore Chesterford, though an ancient British town, was probably a late Roman station; and consequently not likely to be either the *Iciani* or the *Camboritum* of Antonine's Itinerary. The Saxons were not enthusiastic roadmakers, and what roads they are known to have made are especially crooked; whereas the Ermine Street is distinguished for its direct course.

With regard, once more, to the road running through the Eastern counties. The names, as already noticed, are in most cases easily identified; the chief difference being that Caesaromagus is replaced by Baromagi, but no one can suppose Caesaromagus to be other than a Roman alteration, and the Romans left the essentially Gaelic termination in *magh*. The distances from place to place accord well enough with Antonine's distances, except that *Sitomagus* is placed 15 miles from *Combretonium* instead of 22: but the 22 is found in the distance from Sitomagus to *Ad Taum*, which ought to be 25, deducting the 6 between *Ad Taum* and *Venta Icenorum* from Antonine's 31 from *Sitomagus* to *Venta*. The German scribe was quite capable of transposing XXV and XXII, and also of omitting an X from the XXV: and this I suppose he has done. Where he only differs by a

[1] Guest on *The Four Roman Ways* in *A. J.* vol. 14, p. 99: *Origines Celticae*, vol. 2.

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single mile, as he does in two or three cases, I account for it by supposing that in the maps a fraction was always omitted, and sometimes the inferior unit set down, sometimes the superior; so in these cases he may have correctly copied his model, and Antonine have worked on the contrary principle as to the fractions. The map strengthens the theory of Jenkins[1], that *Caesaromagus*, *Canonium* and *Camulodunum* may be placed, respectively, at Danebury Camp near Chelmsford, Hareburgh Camp and Lexden: Colonia, as distinguished from Camulodunum, being at Colchester, two or three miles from Lexden. The station of Camulodunum has no picture to designate it in the *Tabula;* and, doubtless, at the date assigned, it would be, like London, an insignificant place; the Colonia having been swept away by the Iceni under Boadicea, though they would probably spare the adjacent British town.

Ad Ansam is probably some place on the Stour; in fact, Richard of Cirencester (or Bertram) calls the station *Ad Sturium;* and though Bertram, as Prof. Mayor conclusively shows[2], forged Richard's *Diaphragmata*, he evidently based his forgeries on some records which in parts were authentic[3]. From *Ad Ansam* the main road evidently turned inland, though a short branch is marked as tending to the coast; and this (if we consider the river depicted to be the Thames, with its mouth narrowed in the drawing, but intended to stretch from Orfordness to Kent) must lead to Dunwich. So that we may agree with those antiquaries who say that a Roman road ran from Colchester to Dunwich, though we maintain that Dunwich was

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. 29, p. 243.

[2] *Richard of Cirencester* in the series of "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland."

[3] Roads, notably the Southern continuation of the Ryknild through Alchester to Silchester, have been found to be in accordance with the *Diaphragmata*, though Antonine says nothing about them. This fact is one which is hard to be got over by those who assert Bertram's document to be a *baseless* forgery.

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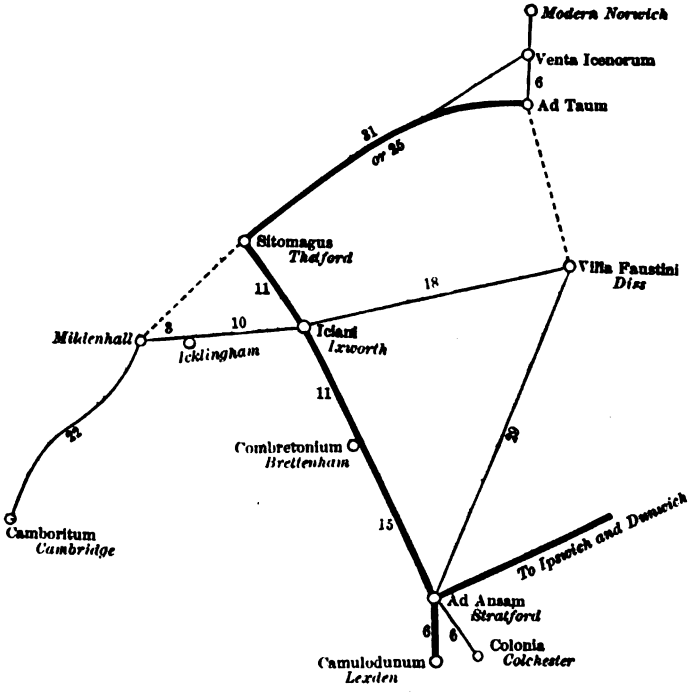
not *Sitomagus*. The theory of Camden, Blomefield and Dyer appears to be correct, that *Combretonium* is the Roman camp near Brettenham in Suffolk; and *Sitomagus* at or near Thetford, which appears to be the *Iciani* of Iter v. of Antonine. Another road seems to have crossed the Peutinger road at Ixworth in Antonine's time, running from *Villa Faustini* (Diss) to Icklingham and Mildenhall; and the arrangement of Antonine's Itinera v and ix seems to be as follows, the Peutinger road being shown by thick lines[1]:



[1] Iter v of Antonine stands thus:

Londinium	27	miles	to	Caesaromagus:
Caesaromagus	24	„	„	Colonia:
Colonia	35	„	„	Villa Faustini:
Villa Faustini	18	„	„	Iciani:
Iciani	35	„	„	Camboricum:
Camboricum	25	„	„	Durolipons.

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Only one other road is delineated in the *Tabula*, viz. that on which we find marked *Ridumo* and *Isca Dumnomorum*. There can be little doubt that *Ridumo* is the *Moridunum* of Antonine, and *Isca*, of course, is Exeter. The exact position of *Moridunum* is now almost certain, owing to the researches of Hoare and Warne, viz. at Honiton, or Hembury Fort near Honiton, and not at Seaton. Antonine, the *Tabula* and Richard agree in stating 15 miles as the distance from *Isca* to *Moridunum*, which agrees with the position of Hembury Fort. This road, then, must be the British trackway, afterwards converted into a Roman road, along the crest of the Downs, from *Durnovaria* (Dorchester), past Maiden Castle, Aggerdun and Lambard's Castle; along which, from the regular series of Roman camps, placed in opposition to British forts, we may suppose Vespasian to have advanced in his conquest of the south of Britain[1]. This road was called, as a Roman road, the Dorset Fossway, and fell into the great fosse at the Hembury Fort, just mentioned.

The map confirms the idea, generally held, that *Anderida*, *Regulbium*, *Othona*, *Portus Adurnus*, were not fortified ports till the reign of Carausius, when they were constructed to form with the older forts or stations, Dover, Hythe, Richborough, Burgh Castle (*Garionium*), and Brancaster (*Brancodunum*) the line of defence of the Saxon shore. It is impossible to say positively that the map indicates the non-existence of *Garionium* at its date, for where the map breaks off is uncertain; but probably, if *Garionium* had existed, it would have been in the existing fragment of Britain.

The conclusions, therefore, suggested by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in relation to Britain, are:

I. That in the time of M. Aurelius London was a place of little importance, though it had previously been a resort of merchants, but not a fortress;

[1] See Warne in *Archæologia*, vol. 41, p. 387.

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II. That the Watling Street, as a British road, crossed the Thames considerably to the west of London;

III. That the Ermine Street is a late Roman work;

IV. That the Romans may have had a station at Dunwich; but that the road from Silchester, through Colchester to Norwich, did not pass through Dunwich, but went directly from Colchester to Ixworth and on to Thetford, and that Thetford is *Sitomagus*, and Ixworth *Iciani;*

V. That the majority of the forts of the Saxon shore did not exist at the date mentioned.

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XVIII. Note on the Tomb (in Westminster Abbey) of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, Mother of King Henry VII. Communicated by J. W. Clark, M.A., Trinity College.

[May 7, 1883.]

While searching the Audit-Books of S. John's College for notices of the buildings, I came upon a series of entries relating to the tomb of the Lady Margaret in Westminster Abbey; and subsequently, while looking through a bundle of old papers which had been found in the Muniment Room, I had the good fortune to discover some receipts signed by the artists employed upon it. These throw additional light on the original design of the tomb, and also confirm the tradition that the existing structure was executed by Pietro Torregiano, the celebrated Florentine sculptor.

The Lady Margaret died 29 June, 1509. In her will, dated 6 June, 1508, she had given the following directions respecting the place of her burial:

'And our body to be buried in the monastery of Seynt Peter of Westm' in suche convenable place as we in our life, or our executors aftir our

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decesse shall provide for the same within the chapell of our Lady which is nowe begon by...our most deer son'[1].

She was accordingly buried in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel near the east end of the south aisle. Her tomb is "an altar monument of black marble and touchstone, each side being divided by pilasters into three compartments. At the ends and sides are eight scutcheons within chaplets of laurel surrounded by roses. On the top is a recumbent effigy of the Countess in her coronet and robes of state, the head resting on cushions beneath a gothic canopy; and the feet supported by a fawn. The effigy, scutcheons, chaplets, roses, etc. are of copper, and the effigy is gilt. On the ledge of the tomb is the inscription, composed by Erasmus[2]." This altar-tomb is in excellent preservation. I am now able to shew that it was originally protected by a cage of gilt ironwork, resting on a stone plinth, which has not only disappeared, but all tradition of its former existence has been forgotten. The tomb was paid for by the executors of the Countess, but the ironwork was the gift of S. John's College, and must have been a very splendid work, for it cost £25, which represents at least £250 at the present value of money, exclusive of the stonework, and the gilding.

The accounts of the Executors[3] of the Lady Margaret shew a total expenditure of £17. 8*s.* 2*d.* upon the tomb. Garter King receives £0. 13*s.* 4*d.* for "declaring my ladies armes in viij schochyns for my ladies tombe, and deliuerede to the florentyne, 27 December, 1512": Erasmus receives £1. 0*s.* 0*d.* for the epitaph, 28 December, 1512: "Maynarde paynter" receives

[1] Will of Margaret Countess of Richmond: printed in the Appendix to her funeral sermon by Bishop Fisher, ed. Hymers, p. 230.

[2] *Memoir of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby.* By the late C. H. Cooper, F.S.A. 8vo. Camb. 1874. p. 124. Mr Cooper gives the inscriptions, and describes the eight coats of arms, with other particulars.

[3] Cooper, *ut supra*, p. 200.

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£1. 13*s.* 4*d.* "for makynge the picture and image of the seide ladye 22 June 1513"; and £4. 13*s.* 4*d.* for the makynge of diuerse patrons for my ladies tombe 15 March 1514; and the Prior of S. Bartholomews expends £9. 8*s.* 2*d.* in various matters not particularized. It is hardly likely that these entries contain the whole expense of the tomb, for it is stated that the aforesaid Prior (who gave his labour gratis) surveyed and controlled the workmen, and sent for divers workmen from beyond the sea to make the said tomb.

One of the receipts lately discovered contains the particulars of an expenditure of £4. 13*s.* 4*d.*, evidently the above sum paid to Maynard, though his name is not mentioned, and the document is not dated:

'For my lady the kinges grandame
Whose Soulle god pardone.

First for making of iij patrons in paper for her Tombe eche of theym diuerse facions summa	xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
Item for ij patrons made in cloth beyng the length of her tombe wrought with colours wherof the one Remayned in the executours handes and the oder in Master Petirs handes at xl s the pece And for his costes and lett of other besynes at diuerse and many tymes attending vpon the priour of seynt Bartilmewes and vpon the forsaid Master Petir by the commandement of the Executours summa	iiij li

Summa totalis—iiij^{li} xij^{s} iiij^{d}.' [countersigned] 'Jo Roffs[1].'

A second receipt, dated 7 February, 1512, for money paid to the same artist—probably part of the above sum—shews that he was a Fleming, and that his real name was Meynnart Wewyck:

'M^{d} that I Maynarde Vewicke of London paynter haue ressayuid the vij daie of February the thrid yeire of the reigne of kynge henry the viij of the Reuerend father in god John bushop of Rochester thre poundes ster-

[1] John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

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lyng in parte of payement of A more some for a corten table and ij patrones drawen for my ladie the kynges grandeam' tombe. In witnes wher of I the saide maynarde haue subscribed this bill w^t^ my hand.

Meynnart Wewyck.'

The "Master Peter" of the above Account, and "the florentyne" of the former Account, are evidently one and the same person, viz. Pietro Torregiano, a Florentine artist, who came to England about this time, and, 26 October 1512, signed an agreement with the Executors of King Henry the Seventh, to make a tomb of marble and touchstone, with recumbent effigies, in gilt copper, of the King and Queen. This document is recited in a draft indenture dated 5 January, 1518, in which the same artist, there styled "Petir Torrysany of the citie of Florence Graver", and further on, "Payntour", agrees to execute a tomb for King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katherine[1].

The above receipts and entries shew that the coats of arms were planned, and the inscriptions written, before 1512; and that the designs for the effigy and tomb were made between 1512 and 1514. The execution of the work probably proceeded as slowly as the selection of designs for it had done; for the first payment for the ironwork was made in the last quarter of the year 1526, to an artist—evidently a Fleming like Meynnart Wewyck—called "Cornelys Symondeson," "Cornelys Sympson," or simply "the Smyth at Temple barre." The first payment to him is "in ernest," and therefore probably marks the making of the bargain. One of his receipts, dated 26 October, 1527, shews that he was to receive £25 for his work; and as the last payment to him was made between June and September, 1529, we may conclude that the work was then completed, and that about two years and a half had been spent

[1] The document is printed in the *Archæologia*, Vol. xvi. p. 84. See also Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, etc., ed. Dallaway i. 171.

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in the execution of it. The account, of which the details are given below, runs as follows:

Michaelmas—Christmas 1526	0 . 13 . 4
January—February 1527	4 . 10 . 0
May—June; (receipt also) 1527 . . .	5 . 0 . 0
26 October; (receipt also) „	4 . 0 . 0
	14 . 3 . 4
Received also as per last receipt . . .	0 . 16 . 8[1]
Total received to 26 October, 1527 . . .	15 . 0 . 0
April—June 1528	5 . 0 . 0
15 October; (receipt also) 1528 . . .	1 . 13 . 4
13 February 1529	2 . 0 . 0
June—September	1 . 6 . 8
	£25 . 0 . 0

The payments and receipts referred to in this account are appended, in order of date:

Mich. Term. 18 *Hen VIII: i.e Mich—Christmas* 1526.

'Item to the Smyth at Temple barre in Ernest xiij. iiij^{d}.'; and in the margin: 'a grat for my ladys tomb.'

Hilary Term 18 *Hen VIII: i.e January—February* 1527.

'Item paid in p^{t} of payment to Cornelys Smyth for makyng a greate of Irone at Westm' ouer my lady the kinges mother the vijth (*sic*) iiij^{li}. x^{s}.'

Easter Term 19 *Hen VIII: i.e* 23 *May*—24 *June* 1527.

'Item paid in part of payment to Cornellys smyth for makyng the kynges grandemother tumbe at Westm' .....v^{li}.'

'M^{d} that I cornellys symonson hath Receyued of nycholas metcalf Clerke master of seynt Johns colleg in cambrigg fyue poundes sterlyng in part of payment of a mor some for makyng my lady the kynges grandmothe the viijth grate at Westm' in wyttnes wher of I haue subscribyd my hande and sette my seall the xxxiij day of may the xix yere of kyng Henry viijth.' [23 May 1527]

Mich. Term. 19 *Hen VIII: i.e Mich—Christmas* 1527.

'The xxvi dai of Octobre. To Cornelis Sympson in parte of payment for making a Grate of my ladys tombe .....iiij^{li}.'

[1] The last receipt shews that this sum must have been paid. I have either overlooked it, or, the Audit-Books being somewhat incomplete for this period, the leaf containing it has been lost.

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'This bill Witteneth that I Cornelys Symonson Smyth haue rec' of M' Doctor metcalf at diuers tymes as appereth by sondre bokes xv li in parte of payment of xxv li for the makyng of a certen grate betwext me the sayd Cornelys and the sayide M' doctor apoynted and barganed of the whiche xv li I the sayd Cornelys knowlege my self truly contented and payed and the said M' doctor and his assignes therof do clerly acquite and discharge by these presentes for euer.

In Wittenes wherof I the said Cornelys to these presentes haue setto my seale the xxvj day of octobre A° xix° henrici octaui.' [26 October 1527]

'Sigillat' et pro vere fact' delibrat' fuit in presencia mei Raunhohi Hall, Willelmi Lamkin. by me Gabriell metcalf.'

Easter Term. 20 *Hen VIII: i.e* 12 *April*—24 *June* 1528.

'Item to Cornelis the Smyth in parte of payment for my ladys tombe and in full payment of xx^{li}. .....v^{li}.'

'This bill made the xvth day of Octobre in the xx^{ti} yeare of the Reigne of kyng henry the viijth wittenesith that I Cornelys Symondeson haue recieved of M^{r} doctor metcalf in parte of payment for makyng a tumbe for my lady the kynges Grand xxxiij^{li} iiij^{s} in full payment of xxj^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. In wittenes wherof I the saide Cornelys haue subscribet this bill w^{t} myn owne hande the day and yer aboue written.' [15 October 1528] .....£1 . 13 . 4

'The xiijth day of Febr' 20 Hen VIII: [i.e 13 February 1529.] 'Item to the Smyth for my ladys grat .....xl^{s}.'

Midsummer Term 21 *Hen. VIII. June—September* 1529.

'Item to Cornelys Symondeson in ffull payment for the grayte aboute my ladys tombe our ffoundres .....xxvj^{s}. viij^{d}.'

'Item in rewarde amongst the Smyths seruants that maide the grayt ffor our ffoundres tumbe .....iiij^{d}.'

The stone plinth for the ironwork was executed by a free-mason, named Raynold Bray, citizen of London, who was paid £2. 13*s*. 4*d*. for his work:

Mich—January 20 *Hen. VIII: probably Michaelmas* 1528—*January* 1528—29.

'Item to Raynold Bray in parte of payment for makyng the baysses about my ladys towmbe in Westm' .....x^{s}.'

January—February 20 *Hen. VIII: i.e January—February* 1529.

'Item to Ranold Bray for stonewarke to set the grate vpon about my ladys tumbe .....x^{s}.'

'Be it knowen to all men by these presentes that I Raynold Bray, Citizen and Fremason of london haue receaved this presen̄t day of maister

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Doctor Medcalff xx^{li}. sterlinge in partie of payment of a more somme. Of the whiche xx^{li}. I knowlege my self welle and truly contented and paide by these presentes, Sealed w^{t} my seall. yauen the vj day of February the xxth yere of the Reigne of King Henry the viijth.' [6 February 1528—29.]

13 *February* 1528—29.

'Item to the Fre mason for stone warke .....xiij^{li}. iiij^{d}.'

Lastly, the following charge is made for the gilding:

Michaelmas, 1529—30.

'Item for gylding the grate about my ladys tombe .....xl^{s}.'

Among the papers in the Muniment Room is the following receipt, dated 2 October, 1509:

'Be hyt knowen to all men that I Jhon Wolf[1] setezen and peynter of London hath Reseyvyd of the excecutors of most nobell pryncys marget late countes of rychmont and Derby grandam to owr soveren lorde kyng hary the VIII^{the} for a full contentacyon of my dewty for makyng of xxxiij skochans in metalls per paly w^{t} a cronnall and lxiiij in colors by the handys of syr thomas mawdysley iij^{li}. vj^{sh}. viij^{d}. the ferst yer of the reyne of kyng hary the viijth the scond day of October and for a more wyttenes I the sayd Jhon hathe wreten thys byll w^{t} my awn hand and subskrybyd my name per me Jhon Wolfe

We approve the deliuerance of the sayde markes un to the sayde payntour Jo Roff' Henry Hornby.'

As Sir Thomas Mawdesley was steward to the Lady Margaret, John Bishop of Rochester her confessor, and Henry Hornby, Bishop of Ely, her chancellor; and as the two latter persons, among others, were her executors, it may be conjectured that this bill refers either to her tomb, or to the ceremonies of her funeral.

[1] In 1510-11 this painter is paid by the executors for two 'pictures of my ladys personage': Cooper *ut supra*, p. 185. This receipt is printed, somewhat inaccurately, in the notes to the same work, p. 259.

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XIX. On a Silver Statuette of Fortuna Nemesis. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[November 12, 1883.]

In proportion as antique art declined in beauty of form, and excellence of workmanship, so much did it increase in richness of symbolism and combination of ideas. This was the necessary consequence of the change in the spirit of the religion that had insensibly crept over the Roman world, at the time when the nude, simple anthropomorphism of Greece was respectfully superseded by the mysticism of Persia, and of Egypt:

"qualia demens
Aegyptus portenta colat,"

where the *symbol* was the only thing of importance, and good taste, or elegance in its representation were for the most part entirely disregarded. This change has bequeathed to us innumerable evidences of itself in swarms of talismans in every variety of fantastic combination,

"All that on Folly Frenzy could beget,"

the offspring of Serapis-worship, Mithraicism and Astrology. From the same source came multitudes of other works, from colossal statues down to pocket-idols; of which however, from their more perishable nature, comparatively few have survived the various accidents of time.

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Of all such monuments that have passed under my inspection the *Fortuna Nemesis* (fig. 1) of the Charvet Collection (originally found in France) expresses the doctrines it was meant to teach with the greatest elegance both of form and of execution. I shall first minutely describe the different members that go to its composition, and then offer a few remarks upon the ideas which they were intended to convey.

Fig. 1. Silver statuette of Fortuna Nemesis.

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A draped female figure, with long drooping wings, bearing the cornucopiae in the left hand, in the other what appears to be a bridle and the trumpet-shaped handle of a rudder at the foot of which rests a wheel, while with the thumb and fore-finger she holds the money-bag (*crumena*) of *Mercury*. Above her shoulders are placed busts of *Sol* and *Luna*, the one crowned with rays, the other with the crescent. But it is upon her head that, as reason would, the designer has lavished all the wealth of symbolism. She wears the *helmet*, the peculiar distinction of *Virgo* in the Zodiac, which again is encircled by the turreted crown of *Cybele:* from each side spring the cow's horns of the great goddess of Egypt; on its crest is set the *modius* of *Serapis:* on the summit of all rests the Winged Orb, the *Mir*, the universal Phoenician type of the Supreme Being, "the Sun of Righteousness with healing in his wings."

The man who designed this image was assuredly not of Juvenal's opinion, [Fortuna]

"Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia,"

when he thus concentrated all the Powers of Heaven in the person of his pretty Panthea,—to which may be justly applied what Propertius says of the Etruscan Vertumnus:

"Unum opus est; operi non datur unus honos."

That the Greeks expressed the (apparently) capricious deity who rules the affairs of Man under a visible form, is certain from the story of the Athenian wit who put forth the satirical picture representing Timotheus lying asleep whilst Τύχη was catching cities for him in her net[1]; but under what form the

[1] Which so piqued the Athenian general that he publicly enumerated several of his successes with the remark "In all these Fortune had no share." After this ungrateful boast, it was noticed that she had turned her back upon him, for all his subsequent enterprises ended in disappointment. Plutarch *Sulla*, VI. iii.

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goddess was painted, or sculptured by them, there seems to be no certain evidence.

Far otherwise was it with the Romans, who subdivided the functions of this Ruler of Events with such precision as even to erect a temple to the "Fortuna hujusce diei." In some of her characters, especially as "Redux," they depicted her as seated, holding *cornucopiae* and *rudder:* in others, identifying her with Nemesis, they furnished her with *wings* and *wheel.* Under this latter form did she present herself to the mind of Horace, when he wrote

> "huic apicem rapax
> Fortuna cum *stridore acuto*
> sustulit,"

as he beheld her swooping down from aloft with the shrill whirr of her eagle-wings[1]—a trope often recalled to my memory when some new Ixion finds a malicious pleasure in startling me on the highway by the graze of his noiselessly approaching *mononon*[2].

When Julius (who, like his adopted son, lived in wholesome fear of Nemesis) put her figure upon his coin, a *serpent* is added as attribute for some unknown reason; and Claudius

Fig. 2. Aureus of Claudius.

repeats the type on an aureus (fig. 2)—a proof that it was copied from some highly venerated original. "Wings" were the special distinction of Nemesis, for Pausanias instances the twin "Wingless" Nemeses of Antioch as an exception

[1] Like the eagle on the cap of Tarquinius Priscus, as he first entered the gate of Rome.

[2] A word coined on the analogy of *τέθριππον*, similarly expressing the motive power.

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to the universal mode of representing her. The Romans also worshipped a *dual* Fortune, for the "Fortunae Antiates"

Fig. 3. Denarius struck by Q. Rustius.

who presided over the oldest and most celebrated oracle of Italy, appear as twin-sisters, the one helmeted as cruel, the other olive-crowned as kind, upon the remarkable coin (fig. 3) struck by Rustius, one of the Augustan monetarii. The Zodiacal Virgo always appears with a helmet on her head: Statius calls her "Marathonia Virgo," probably on that account; not merely as being the daughter of Icarius, king of Attica. As this Sign is figured holding the next in order, Libra, in her hand, the Romans seem to have often confounded her with Astraea, the emblem of Justice.

All these examples appear to give sufficient proof of the character under which this pretty little image was intended to be adored.

It now remains to consider the modeller's reason for introducing the miniature busts—perfect masterpieces of his art—the extraordinary amount of care bestowed upon their finish arguing the importance of the part they play in the composition of the *tableau*. Similar types of the Solar and Lunar Powers are

Fig. 4. Sard representing Isis.

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not unfrequent on gems, as accessories to the principal figure of some deity. In my own collection was a sard figured above (fig. 4) to double the original size, bearing a full-length figure of Isis, with the Ibis perched on her arm, and these self-same busts in the field, and similarly arranged[1]. Their meaning in such connexion requires no great penetration to divine: their presence declares the deity to rule over all that lies below the Sun and Moon.

This interpretation of these accessory emblems seems to me preferable to another which would make them to signify *Eternity*. It is true that Pescennius Niger symbolizes ÆTERNITAS on a denarius of his by a Crescent and seven stars; and that the Sassanian kings add the crescent inclosing the sun-star to their portraits, as a boast that their power should last "so long as the Sun and Moon endureth"—but to the Roman who solicited the patronage of our statuette, the *extent* of her influence was a matter that concerned *him* infinitely more than its never-ending *duration*.

The *modius* or corn-measure on the head of the goddess is the most obvious emblem of abundance of all good things, and as such is regularly borne by Serapis, the great god of Egypt, the granary of the world, in her later days. The mystics of Macrobius' times, who sought far below the surface for the occult sense of every religious type, explained it as meaning "that out of him all things proceed, and into him all things shall return": but as an attribute of *Fortuna* the more commonplace understanding of its import is certainly the best.

The *date* of workmanship may be approximately fixed by comparing its style, especially in the treatment of the wings, with that of similar figures as found on the coins of the second and third centuries. Another criterion is the quality of the

[1] This intaglio may possibly be a record of Cleopatra's arrogance in publicly appearing in the character of *The New Isis*, and giving her twin sons the titles of Sun and Moon.

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silver itself, which is evinced from its colour to be much debased by an alloy of lead, being probably of the low standard first brought into the mint by the emperor Severus. There can be no doubt that under the Roman empire, as is still the custom all over the East, the material for any work of art or domestic use in the precious metals, was obtained by melting down the necessary weight of current coin. The already noticed merit of the miniature heads, as contrasted with the somewhat slovenly execution of the chief figure, reminds us of the singular anomaly in the coinage, which every intelligent numismatist must have remarked—that the later artists retained the faculty of drawing spirited and well-finished portraits long after they had entirely lost that of engraving full length figures. The never-ceasing demand for portraits and busts in all materials long kept up the art of modelling from the life.

I have said, at starting, that such Pantheistic figures were the offspring of the old age of Paganism; it is possible that the Vertumnus, above alluded to, may have been an exception to the rule. It was a bronze statue, the work of Mamurius, brought to Rome from Volsinii along with[1] the two thousand others in the plunder of that city, and set up in the Forum to replace its rude predecessor in maple-wood that had stood there even before the days of Numa. Propertius has bestowed upon it one of his most charming poems: but unfortunately his description is so flowery and capable of as many meanings as the god of change himself, that the precise nature of the representation can hardly be guessed. His opening line, however[2],

"Quid mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas?"

would lead to the supposition that the god was surrounded by emblems of all the trades and occupations of man. But as the Tyrrhenes, an Asiatic race, drew their first inspirations of Art

[1] Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. vii. (16) 34. [2] iv. ii. 1.

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from Phoenicia, a fondness for symbolism in them is not to be wondered at.

The purpose for which the numerous figures of this class were originally intended (for it is evident that they were not meant to be *set up* for worship, neither having bases of their own, nor *tenons* for fixing them into another base) long puzzled me, until some incidental notices in ancient authors gave me the hint of a satisfactory explanation. In the last great battle under the walls of Rome, when Telesinus with his Samnites had all but won the day, Sulla drew *from his bosom*[1] a small Apollo of gold, and in his last despair offered to the god the most fervent prayers for succour. Again, Apuleius, when charged with magical practices (on the same grounds as Othello) by the indignant relatives of his wealthy wife, refuted the tale that he always carried about him the figure of a skeleton for some necromantic rite, by producing a little Mercury of admirable workmanship in boxwood[2] and putting it into the hands of the judge[3]. Later still, when the ancient religion was at its last gasp, Ammianus mentions a report that[4] the burning

[1] A golden Mars 5½ in. high, weighing 3 ounces, formerly in the Böcke Collection (sold by Sotheby, 1857), must have been the similar "bosom-friend" of some later *imperator*.

[2] By Cornelius Saturninus, *artifex*. "Item minutatim ex tabellis compacta crassitudine Mercuriolum expediri potuisse." *De Magia* p. 67, ed. Bipontin.

[3] "Accipe, quaeso, Maxime, et contemplare: bene tam puris et tam piis manibus tuis traditur res consecrata. En vero quam facies ejus decora, et succi palaestrici plena sit: quam hilaris Dei vultus, quam decenter utrinque lanugo malis deserpat: ut in capite crispatus capillus intimo pilei umbraculo appareat: quam lepide super tempora pares pinnulae emineant: quam autem festive circa humeros vestis conjecta sit! Hunc qui *sceletum* audet dicere profecto ille aut simulacra Deorum nulla videt aut omnia negligit. Hunc denique qui *larvam* putat ipse est *larvatus*." id. ib. p. 69. From other hints dropped by Apuleius, I suspect he wishes to insinuate that his brother-in-law, Æmilian, was a concealed Christian.

[4] "Ferebatur autem licet rumore levissimo." XXII. xiii. 3. The old soldier evidently shared Julian's suspicions.

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of the famous temple of Apollo at Antioch (which Julian attributed to the spite of the Christians) was due to the carelessness of the philosopher Asclepiades, who in thanksgiving for his safe journey from distant Gaul, to visit his former disciple, had left, at midnight, his inseparable travelling companion, a silver image of the "Goddess of Heaven" (Astarte)[1], with lighted tapers set up all round it, before the elevated feet (*ad pedes sublimes*) of the celebrated colossus[2]. And Pliny laughs at people carrying figures of Egyptian gods upon their fingers, specimens of which are still to be found, resembling the Crucifix-rings worn by certain anthropomorphic religionists in our day.

The two gems here figured illustrate other modes of representing the goddess. In one (fig. 5), a sard, a City solicits

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

protection, as is shown by her gesture; in the other (fig. 6) the motive is expressed by the invocation BOHΘEI added on the reverse[3].

[1] "Deae Caelestis *argenteum breve* figmentum quocunque ibat secum solitus ferre." XXII. xiii. 3.

[2] A chryselephante colossus, made by Antiochus Epiphanes in emulation of the Olympic Zeus. It is carefully represented on a little coin of Julian's, with the legend APOLLONI SANCTO. Obv. GENIO ANTIOCHENO.

[3] I take this opportunity of correcting a mistake into which I had been led by an imperfect copy of a gem in the possession of Mr Fortnum, described in the *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. XLII., p. 169. The complete inscription reads ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΝΕΜΕΣΙΣ Η ΚΥΡΙΑ. The goddess is represented making the usual gesture with her right hand, but carries in her left hand what appears to be an orb; at her feet is a gryphon.

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Archaeologists ought to be grateful to this pretty and innocent form of superstition, to which they owe the legacy of so many of these miniature treasures of art—the foremost place amongst which is to be assigned to our FORTUNA NEMESIS. From the Charvet cabinet she has recently winged her way to the *lararium* of the Rev. S. S. Lewis; upon whose fortunes may she shed as benign an influence as was ever invoked by her first possessor!

[*The illustrations in this Communication are from originals in the cabinet of the* Rev. S. S. LEWIS.]

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XX. Biographical Notes on the University Printers from the Commencement of Printing in Cambridge to the Present Time. Communicated by Robert Bowes, Esq.

[January 28, 1884.]

Introductory.

The following pages are the result of an attempt to trace the succession of University printers and to ascertain how far and for how long each printer was actually engaged in the management of the Press. Many of the printers appointed before 1700 appear never to have been so engaged. These were for the most part graduate members of the University holding other offices (Esquire Bedell, Registrary, etc.) and received a small salary. The smallness of this salary (£5 a year, occasionally increased by a gratuity of the same amount) makes it seem probable that the office was looked upon as a sinecure, and that an appointment was made when a vacancy occurred in order to preserve the right of the University to appoint three printers. The printers of the latter class certainly held their office on a different footing, as, for instance, John Hayes was paying £100 a year to the University at the same time that Hugh Martin and Jonathan Pindar were receiving £5 a year from the University.

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My information has been mainly obtained from well-known authorities, such as:

Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, 1749; and the second edition by Herbert, 3 vols., 1785–1790 (cited as Ames-Herbert).

Carter, *Hist. of the University of Cambridge*, 1753 (taken almost entirely from the first edition of Ames).

Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes* and *Literary Illustrations*, 17 vols, 1812–1858.

Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 4 vols., 1824.

Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 4 vols., 1841–1852, and later writers. But beside these I have had the advantage of consulting certain sources of evidence, some of which are not so generally accessible, viz.:

1. Documents in the Registry.

2. A Chronological List (MS.) of all documents, entries in the Grace-books, and other material in the Registry relating to the Press, compiled by Mr A. P. Humphry.

3. The Minute-Book of the Curators of the Press, 1696–1740.

4. The Registers of the Stationers' Company from 1554 to 1640, edited by Edward Arber.

5. The Churchwardens' Books of St Mary the Great, 1583–1630.

6. The Churchwardens' Books of St Edward's, 1625—1670.

7. The Churchwardens' Books and Rate-Books, etc., of St Botolph's, 1646–1743, and Registers of Baptisms, Deaths, etc., 1617–1743.

8. The *Additions* to Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*. These sheets were never published. They were discovered in a grocer's shop, where they were being used as waste-paper, when only three copies could be made up. Of these three copies one is in the University Library, one in the Cambridge Free Library, and the third is in my possession. The sheets are

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marked Vol. v. Q–Ff, pp. 225–448. Of Vol. v. only one part, pp. 1—128, has been published.

Besides eliciting a small amount of new matter, I have been enabled by consulting the above original sources to verify some statements which had appeared previously and to correct others.

Since the paper was read before the Society, I have received from friends many additions and corrections; and I am especially indebted to Mr F. Jenkinson, not only for the footnotes signed J., but for material help and advice on the paper as a whole. I shall still feel grateful to any one who will point out any inaccuracies that he may discover.

For access to the MS. matter my thanks are due to Dr Luard, Mr J. W. Clark, Mr A. P. Humphry, Mr C. J. Clay, Dr Campion, and the churchwardens of the several parishes named.

It will be convenient, as a preliminary step, to exhibit in a tabular form the chronological order of the printers, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, with the dates of their appointment.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF UNIVERSITY PRINTERS.

(In the following list the names of those who are not known to have printed anything are in italics.)

1521.	John Siberch.	He disappears after 1522.
1534.	*Nicholas Speryng.*	
	Garratt Godfrey.	
	Sygar Nicholson.	
1539.	*Nicholas Pilgrim.*	
1540.	*Richard Noke.*	
1545.	*Peter Sheres.*	
1577.	*John Kingston.*	
1583.	Thomas Thomas, M.A.	d. 1588.
1588.	John Legate.	d. 1620.
?	*John Porter* (before 1593).	
1606.	Cantrell Legge.	He did not print after 1625.
?	*Thomas Brooke, M.A.* (before 1614).	At least till 1621.

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1622.	Leonard Greene.	d. 1630.
1625.	Thomas Buck, M.A.	Said to have resigned 1653.
	John Buck, M.A.	(?)
1630.	Francis Buck.	Resigned 1632.
1632.	Roger Daniel.	Patent cancelled 1650.
1650.	John Legate (the younger).	Patent cancelled 1655.
1655.	John Field.	d. 1668.
1669.	*Matthew Whinn.*	
1669.	John Hayes.	d. 1705.
1680.	*John Peck, M.A.*	
1682.	*Hugh Martin, M.A.*	
1683.	*Dr James Jackson.*	
1683.	*Jonathan Pindar.*	
1693.	*H. Jenkes.*	
1697.	*Jonathan Pindar.*	At least till 1730.
1701.	John Owen.	Bankrupt 1703.
1705.	Cornelius Crownfield.	Pensioned 1740.
1730.	W. Fenner Mrs Fenner Thomas James John James	Lease relinquished by Mrs Fenner 1738.
1740.	Joseph Bentham.	Resigned 1766.
1758.	John Baskerville.	Nothing after 1763.
1766.	John Archdeacon.	Died 1795.
1793.	John Burges.	Died 1802.
1802.	John Deighton.	Resigned 1802.
1802.	Richard Watts.	Resigned 1809.
1804.	Andrew Wilson.	(?) 1811.
1809.	John Smith.	Pensioned 1836.
1836.	John William Parker.	Resigned 1853.
1854.	Charles John Clay. George Seeley.	Retired 1856.
1882.	John Clay.	

1. JOHN SIBERCH.

John Siberch printed several books at Cambridge in the years 1521 and 1522; and although he was not, strictly speaking, a University printer, he naturally finds a place here as being in a certain sense the precursor of the University

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printers. An entry in Dr Caius's *Annales*[1] under date 1569 informs us that Siberch occupied a house between the Gate of Humility and the Gate of Virtue under the sign of the *Arma Regia*. This statement is most interesting, as, besides marking the exact spot on which our first printer worked, it explains how the arms of France and England quarterly came to be used as a device in some of Siberch's books[2].

Erasmus writing[3] on Christmas-day, 1525, to Dr Robert Aldrich of King's College, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, sends greetings to "veteres sodales Phaunum, Omfridum, Vachanum, "Gerardum, Nicolaum, et Joannem Siburgum bibliopolas." Unless Erasmus had had no information about Siberch for some years, this would seem to imply that the latter was still in Cambridge in the year 1525.

Beyond this I have seen nothing that gives any information about Siberch; where he came from when he commenced printing in Cambridge in 1521, or what became of him after 1522. I should rejoice if the statement of this fact might lead some one with the necessary time and interest in the subject to try and supply these particulars.

The list of his books as found in the published bibliographies has grown up gradually. For two we are indebted to Maittaire in 1722; for three more to Palmer in 1732; Ames in 1749 raised the number to seven, and an eighth was added by Herbert in 1790. Since that date no fresh book from his press has been discovered. Ames suspected that there was a second book printed in 1522, having seen the last leaf of a book ending "Impressum in Alma Cantabrigia per me "Joannem Siberch, anno Domini MDXXII 8 Decembris." But further investigation has not confirmed this suspicion. As the

[1] For this information I am indebted to Mr Bensly, Librarian of Caius College.

[2] See Appendix A.

[3] *Opera* (Lugd. Bat. 1703), vol. III. pars. 1, col. 901 (epist. 782).

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result of enquiries made for copies of books printed by Siberch, a copy of *Papyrius Geminus*, the eighth book in Herbert's list, was discovered in St John's College Library and brought to my notice by Dr Wood. The last leaf proved to contain the imprint quoted above, and it became evident that Ames was in fact describing a detached leaf of this book, of which he had apparently never seen a perfect copy.

In a volume in the same library containing two of the eight known books Thomas Baker has written these notes:

Erasmus *de conscribendis epistolis* and Henry Bullock's *Oration to Cardinal Wolsey* etc. are two of the first books, that I (or Mr Bagford who has seen more books than most men in England) ever saw, printed at Cambridge. One other book I have seen printed the same year [1521] and no more.

Dr Fuller [*Hist: of Cambr*: P: 58, 59.] seems to be of the same opinion, tho' he had never seen Erasmus his book, as appears by mistakes there made.

I never could meet with another copy of either of these books in this University.

I have since seen one in C. C. C. of Erasmus.

Besides these two books, I have only seen one other printed by Siberch at Cambridge this year viz: an: 1521, and there he styles himself, *Joannes Siberch primus* utriusque linguae in Angliâ impressor.

T. B.

In Hearne's *Walter Hemyngforde* (p. 735) there is a somewhat similar note taken from a copy of Erasmus given to Hearne by Baker.

I have not entered into any details respecting the books printed by Siberch, as an examination of the eight books has been made by Mr Bradshaw, and his notes will appear in a reproduction of Bullock's *Oration*.

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2. NICHOLAS SPERYNG.
3. GARRETT GODFREY.
4. SEGAR NICHOLSON.

This appointment was made by Grace of the Senate, under the power granted by letters patent of the king, July 20, 1534, "to assign and elect from time to time by writing under the "seal of the Chancellor of the University three stationers and "printers or sellers of books, residing within the University," etc.[1] They were to print or import for sale only books approved by the censors of the University. This was in accordance with a petition which had been presented to Wolsey by the University in 1529.

The terms of the Grace, which occurs last but one among the Graces from Mich. 1533 to Mich. 1534 (Grace Book Γ. 148), are as follows:

Yt ys grawntyd that the vnyuersyte shall assine & chose accordynge to your graunte lately made & geven yow by the Kynge grace at the procuratyon and costis of Nycholas Sperynge, Garret Godfrey, & Segar Nycolsun the same forsayde three Statyoners to have & ynioy all & synguler lybertyes & priuylegis specyfyed yn the same graunte for terme of ther naturall lyvys, so that thei shall fullfyll at all tymes all & synguler dewtys mencyoned yn the same graunte belongyng to them on ther party, and that thei may have this your assygnatyon & electyon of them yn wrytyngis sygnd wythe yowre common seale.

Speryng, Godfrey and Nicholson were all in business in Cambridge before their appointment as printers and stationers to the University; and although there is no reason to suppose that they ever printed anything, we can still point to books which are almost undoubtedly specimens of their work as binders[2].

Godfrey lived in St Mary's parish, and appears as one of the

[1] Cooper's *Annals*, vol. I. p. 368.
[2] See Appendix A.

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Churchwardens in 1517; and in the Parish Book for the year 31 Hen. VIII. (1539) there are the following entries:

Item for the buryall of Garrett Godfreye vi^{s} viij^{d}.

* * *

Item for the dyrge of Garrett Godfraye ij^{s}.

and in the following years we still find

Item for Garrett Godfreys Dyrge vi^{d}.

It has been suggested[1] that Garrett Godfrey may be the same as Gerard the friend and bookseller of Erasmus, and "Garret our bookbynder" whom Ascham[2] mentions as well acquainted with the habits of Erasmus.

Speryng also lived in St Mary's parish, and appears as Churchwarden in 1516.

Nicholson was a member of Gonville Hall[3]; and it is remarkable, in view of his present appointment, that so lately as 1529 he had been accused of "holding Lutheran opinions "and having in his house the works of Luther and other pro- "hibited books without presenting them to the Ordinary[4]." In

[1] By Mr Searle in his *History of Queens' College*, p. 155, where (besides the letter written from Basle on Christmas Day, 1525, already mentioned, p. 287) he quotes *Opera*, vol. III. col. 130 (Epist. 148) salutabis... veterem hospitem meum Gerardum; col. 121-2 (Epist. 141) bibliopolam.

Mr Searle also quotes (*ib.* pp. 188, 189) two entries from the account books of Queens' College.

[1529.] Item Cegarto bibliopolle [Sygar Nicholson] pro constructione duorum illorum librorum in quibus statuta nostra conscribuntur cum reliquo eorundem ornatu et pro stapo papyri regii qui in eorum altero constringitur iiij s. iiij d.

[1531.] Item 2^{o} die Maji Gerardo [Goodfrey] bibliopola (*sic*) pro libro in quem statuta transcribuntur viij d.

[2] *Toxophilus* (ed. Arber), p. 46.

[3] Some interesting remarks upon the frequency with which members of the University in those days were engaged as tradesmen in the town, will be found in Mr Mullinger's *University of Cambridge to* 1535, p. 627.

[4] Cooper's *Annals*, I 329. He quotes Baker MSS. XXIV. 82; "the following charges in the accounts of John Lyndesey and Thomas Wilson,

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fact it seems to have been in connexion with this prosecution that the University applied to Wolsey for leave to appoint stationers who should be under their own control.

The names of Nicholson or Segar occur three times in Arber's *Registers of the Stationers' Company.*

1557. Fraunces Nycholson *alias* Seager (I. 69).

1565. Benjamen Nycholas *alias* Seger of Chambryge apprenticed (I. 285).

1595. Beniamyn Segar *alias* Nycolson receives an apprentice (II. 207).

5. Nicholas Pilgrim.

The Grace for his appointment as Printer is dated 16 October 1539, from which it would appear that he was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Garrett Godfrey.

6. Richard Noke.

A Grace for sealing his Patent occurs in 1540.

7. Peter Sheres.

The Grace for his appointment as Stationer or Printer is dated 5 February $154\frac{5}{6}$.

8. John Kingston.

The Grace for appointment of John Kingston is dated 8 February $157\frac{6}{7}$, and a copy of the Patent is in Grace-book

Proctors, appear to refer to this matter: 'To Edw. Heynes on account of his office as scribe in the proceedings against Sygar for Heresy, 8s.': 'To the minister of the University for keeping of the same Sygar in prison during the time of his examination, 3s. 4d.': 'For faggots for burning books, 4d.'"

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Δ, 282 a. On 18 July 1577, Lord Burghley wrote to Dr Goad, Vice-Chancellor, on the subject of Kingston's appointment, and disapproved of printing Psalters, Prayer Books, &c., as interfering with the Queen's grants to Seres, Jugge, Day, and others[1]. Notwithstanding the grant of the patent, Kingston seems never to have printed in Cambridge.

9. Thomas Thomas.

Thomas Thomas, born in London 25 December 1553, was educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge, where he became a Fellow in 1574. He was appointed University Printer by Grace 3 May 1583. He at once began to print a book by William Whitaker, but the Company of Stationers seized his press and materials. This seizure is spoken of in a letter, 1 June 1583, from the Bishop of London to Lord Burghley: "There was alsoe found one presse and furniture "which is saide to belonge to one Thomas a man (as I heare) "vtterlie ignoraunte in printinge, and pretendinge that he en- "tendeth to be the printer for the vniuersitie of Cambridge[2]." On June 14 of the same year the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, in reply to a letter from Lord Burghley suggesting a Conference with the Company of Stationers, urge the speedy return of Thomas's press that the Stationers had seized, and express the willingness of the University to confer with the Stationers. On the 16th of March, 1584, Lord Burghley replied to a further letter from the University, stating that he had submitted their Charter to the Master of the Rolls, who concurred with him in the opinion that it was valid[3]. On the 24th of July, 1584, Thomas Thomas, M.A. and printer, entered into

[1] Baker MSS. xxix. 374, quoted in Cooper's *Annals*, II. 357.
[2] Arber, *Stat. Reg.* I. 246.
[3] Cooper, *Ann.* II. 393.

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recognizances in 500 marks before the Vice-Chancellor, subject to the following condition:

If the said Tho. Thomas do not or shall not print or cause to be printed any book, pamphlet, or paper after he hath once finished Saddils works[1], which he hath now under his press, until further order shall be taken with him by the Rt Hon. the Lord Treasurer our Chancellor, Mr Vice-Chancellor, and the University, that then this recognizance to be void and of none effect, or else to stand in full strength[2].

In 1584 books began to issue from Thomas's press, and Herbert gives the titles of 17 that appeared between that year and 1588. He was at the same time engaged on his Latin Dictionary, which bears the date in the dedication of September 1587; and the great labour of this work is said to have brought on a grievous disease which shortened his life. He died 9 August 1588, and was buried in Great St Mary's Church[3].

His attainments as a scholar and a printer combined are spoken of with admiration by his successor John Legate, in the dedication to Lord Chancellor Bacon of the 11th edition of the Latin Dictionary, published in 1619;

He was about 30 years ago a famous Printer among your Cantabrigians; yea something more than a Printer such as we now are, who understand the Latin that we print no more than Bellerophon the letters he carried, and who sell in our shops nothing of our own except the paper *black with the press's sweat*[4]. But he, a companion of the Stephenses and of the other, very few, printers of the true kind and best omen, was of opinion that it was men of learning, thoroughly imbued with academic studies, who should give themselves to cultivating and rightly applying that illustrious benefit sent down from heaven and given to aid mankind and perpetuate the

[1] *Sadeelis Disputationes Theologicae et Scholasticae* published by Thomas in 1584, 4to.

[2] Baker MSS. III. 430, quoted by Cooper (*Additions to Annals*, p. 289), who also refers [*ib.* 301] to a letter, dated July 27, 1588, from the Bishop of Lincoln to Lord Burghley on behalf of Thomas, in MS. Baker, vi. 293; MS. Lansd. lvii., Art. 74; Heywood and Wright, *Univ. Trans.* i. 534.

[3] Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* II. 29, 543.

[4] 'preli sudore nigrantem'.

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arts. Accordingly what more fit than that when he had wrought what was worthy of type, he should himself, needing aid of none, act as midwife to his own progeny.

Thomas's printing-office, according to Leonard Greene writing about 1629[1], was in the Regent Walk, which was immediately opposite the west door of St Mary's Church.

I can find only two entries in the Parish Book that refer to Thomas. In the Churchwardens' accounts for 1584 he appears as paying 6*s.* 8*d.* rate; and in 1589 Mrs Thomas pays "for the buriall of her husband 6*s.* 8*d.*"

10. John Legate.

John Legate, the immediate successor of Thomas, was appointed by Grace, 2 November 1588, "as he is reported to be skilful in the art of printing books." He was the first who used (from 1603 onward) the impression of the *Alma Mater Cantabrigia* with the motto *Hinc lucem et pocula sacra* round it, and he seems to have printed at Cambridge till about 1609. He is stated by Carter to have resigned in 1607; but while after 1609 (?) all books with his name have *London* on the title-page, he still continues to call himself 'Printer to the University' and to use the University design. His right to this title is confirmed by an entry in a MS. account of the University written by John Scot, Notary Public, in 1617, where his name appears, with those of 'Canterell Legg' and Thomas Brooke, as one of the three University printers.

In the Registers of the Company of Stationers (Arber IV. 45), there is an entry by John Legate (the younger), 21 August 1620, of certain books "the copies of John Legat his father lately deceased," so that we may take 1620 to be the year of his death,

[1] Registry MS. 33. 1. 11. The passage is quoted below in my notes on Thomas Buck (p. 300).

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and not 1626 as stated by Ames and subsequent writers[1]. He was admitted and sworn a Freeman of the Stationers' Company in April, 1586[2], and was Master of the Company in 1604[3]. He married Agatha, daughter of Christopher Barker, the King's printer, and left 11 children, his son John succeeding him[4].

In 1612, an edition of Perkins's Works is described as to be sold at his house in Trinitie Lane. This, Mr Henry B. Wheatley informs me, was called after the Church of the Holy Trinity, which was destroyed in the Great Fire and not rebuilt, and is described as between Old Fish Street and Bow Lane.

Under date 1 August 1597, the following entry appears in the Stationers' Registers[5], showing that at that date Legate was recognized by the Stationers as University printer:

WHEREAS John legat hathe printed at Cambridge by Aucthoritie of the vniuersitie there a booke called the *Reformed Catholike:* This seid booke is here Registred for his copie so that none of this Company shall prynt yt from hym. PROVIDED that this entrance shalbe voyd yf the seid booke be not Aucthorised by the seid vniuersitie as he saieth it is, vj[d].

He had a grant of the exclusive right of printing for a term of years Thomas's *Dictionary*, as augmented by him [Legate]; and the 11th edition, from the dedication of which an extract has been made under Thomas Thomas (see p. 293), appeared in 1619, the year before his death. This right was renewed to John Legate, his son, on behalf of himself and 10 others his brothers and sisters, 11 February 162$\frac{0}{1}$[6].

Legate's name appears in the St Mary's Parish Book from 1590 to 1610: from 1591 to 1609 there is an annual entry "For "Rent of hys shopp 5*s.*", and in 1610, "Received of Mr Williams

[1] It is a further confirmation of this that in John Scot's *Foundation of the University* written in 1621 (British Museum, Add. MSS. 11720), Legge and Brooke are given as printers, while the third place is left blank.

[2] Arber II. 696. [3] Arber II. 737.

[4] Ames *Typographical Antiquities*, page 462.

[5] Arber III. 88.

[6] Rymer's *Foedera* xvii. 283, quoted by Ames-Herbert, page 1419.

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"for Mr Leggatt's Rent 5*s*." In 1599, "For buriall of a Child "wh. died at Mr Leggatt's." In 1609, he was elected Churchwarden[1].

Leonard Greene in a document already alluded to[2], says that Legate hired a house in the Regent Walk for his printing-office; and as Greene lived in St Mary's parish from 1612, he must have been in a position to have accurate information on the subject. Could this be the shop for which Legate paid rent 5*s*. to the parish?

11. JOHN PORTER.

On 17 June 1593, John Porter and John Legate prosecuted John Tidder in the Vice-Chancellor's court for offering books for sale in the Cambridge market[3]. I can find no record of Porter's appointment, but he lived in Cambridge[4], and was evidently one of the stationers appointed by the University at this time. He was a member of the Stationers' Company, and is probably the John Porter of Haslyngfylde who was apprenticed to Cuthbert in 1568 (Arber, *Stat. Reg.* I. 375). Some of Perkins's books are printed for him (in 1595, etc.) with John Legate, and Walsall's Sermon in 1607 'for I. Porter and Len: Greene of Cambridge.'

12. CANTRELL LEGGE.

Cantrell Legge was apprenticed to his predecessor John Legate, as appears from the following entry:

1589: 26 April. Cantrell Legge sonne of Edwarde Legge of Burcham in the Countie of Norffolk Y[e]oman, hathe put himself apprentize to John Legat Citizen and Stacioner of London for Eighte yeres from midsomer nexte [24 June 1589] ij^{li} vj^{s} solutum gardiano .6. maij[5].

[1] "Also Mr Legatt, and Walter Betson were chosen churchwardens for the yere and have payd for their dismission for a fine eyther of them x^{s}. to thuse of the said p*arish*." Parish Book Great St Mary's, 1609.

[2] Registry MS. 33. 1. 11.

[3] Registry MS. 33. 2. 1.

[4] See Appendix C.

[5] Arber, *Stat. Reg.* II. 157.

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Legge was sworn and admitted freeman of the Stationers' Company, 11 December 1599[1]. He was appointed printer to the University by Grace, 5 June 1606. He is said to have been in partnership with Legate, but their names never appear together, and Legate's name never appears as Legge's agent in London for the books printed at Cambridge, which would have been but natural had any partnership existed. From the date of Legge's appointment entries of books under his name occur very frequently in the Stationers' Registers, and in nearly all cases in connection with some of the London Stationers—Leonard Greene, Thomas Man, &c.—showing the kind of partnership that still to a small extent exists in what are known as "Trade editions."

With the growth of the Cambridge press the difficulties with the Stationers' Company seem to have increased, for in 1620 Legge petitioned the Lords in Council on a prosecution by the company for printing Lilly's *Grammar*[2]. On 29 November 1623 the Privy Council made an order defining the rights of the University[3]. But this evidently did not satisfy the Stationers, as in 1624 the company complained that

> About two yeares since one legg, printer of Cambridge, printed great nombers of Psalmes, and endeauored to iustifie the Doing thereof, by Colour of some generall wordes in a Charter made by King Henry the VIIJ^th^ to that vniuersity...The said Legg being assisted by the vice Chancellor, and some Doctors proceeded in printing the *psalmes* to the great hindrance of the Companie of Staconers and almost to their vtter vndoing[4].

The complaint also extends to the printing of Almanacks. In the year 1623 there was a grace of the Senate to examine the orders concerning the printers. Legge died in or before 1629, as on June 1 of that year his widow transfers her interest in 16 books of her late husband to Boler[5].

[1] Arber, *Stat. Reg.* II. 724.
[2] See Appendix B.
[3] Cooper's *Ann.* III. 161—2.
[4] Arber, *Stat. Reg.* IV. 527.
[5] Arber, *Stat. Reg.* III. 212.

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Legge appears in the Parish Book of St Mary the Great from 1607 to 1623.

In MS. Coll. Regin. Oxon. CLV. p. 227 is the certificate of Nicholas Hide and Thomas Richardson, Attorney and Solicitor-General, as to the difference between Norton, the King's printer, and Legge, the printer to the University of Cambridge, 1621. (Cooper's *Additions to Annals*, 331).

13. THOMAS BROOKE, M.A., Clare.

The date of Brooke's appointment does not appear; but on 2 June 1614 there was a Grace for granting him a new patent, as he had lost his old one. There is in the Registry (MS. 33. 1. 6.) his resignation dated December 4; but without year. This could not have been before 1621, as in the copy of the MS. 'Foundation of the University of Cambridge' by John Scot written in that year[1], his name still appears as one of the printers.

He probably resigned in the year 1624, in which case Leonard Greene, who was appointed in 1622, would be in place of John Legate, who died in 1620; and Thomas and John Buck appointed in 1625 would take the places of Cantrell Legge and Thomas Brooke. Brooke also held the office of Esquire Bedell; he died in 1629.

14. LEONARD GREENE.

Leonard Greene was a member of the Company of Stationers, having been admitted freeman April 14, 1606[2]; and the first book registered with his name appears in the following month:

> John Porter & Leonard Grene. Entred for their copie vnder the handes of Master Pasfield & Master Norton Warden Meditacons Diuine & Morall, a third Centurie [By Bishop Joseph Hall] vj.

[1] See p. 295, *note*.

[2] Arber III. 683.

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He was appointed one of the printers to the University by Grace, Oct. 31, 1622[1], and on Dec. 16, 1625, there is a second Grace for sealing a patent to him in conjunction with Thomas and John Buck[2].

How long his connection with the University lasted can only be inferred from a statement of his own. In a document[3] containing charges against his partner, Thomas Buck, he avers that he had a knowledge of books and printing "by reason of his "trade therein for the space of thirtie years almost." If this period included the time of his apprenticeship, it would date from about the year 1599, so that these charges were probably written about the year 1629. In the same document he claims to have sent everything to the Cambridge press, even books that were entirely his own property, and as we find in 1630 a book printed in London "for Leonard Greene of Cambridge," it is probable that his connection with the Cambridge press had ceased by that time. I do not find any entries in Arber's Registers after the year 1629.

The following entries occur in the St Mary's Parish Book. In 1612, Greene appears as paying jointly with W. Williams (described in 1607 as "bookbynder") 'Rent of shops 13*s.* 4*d.*' In the following year each name is entered separately for the same property, Leonard Greene "For hys shop at the south side of the steple, 6*s.* 8*d.*", while Williams pays a like sum for the shop on the north side. From 1614 to 1617, the two names appear together as paying jointly, and after the latter year the entry ceases. From 1620 to 1629, Greene pays annually a sum

[1] The imprint in Crakenthorpe's *De Providentia Dei* (March, 162$\frac{2}{3}$) is 'Cantabrigiæ, impensis Leonardi Greene unius e Typographis Academiæ.' J.

[2] Accordingly in William Bedell's Latin version of Pietro Sarpi's *History of Italy under Paul V.* (the dedication of which is dated March 28, 1626), we find Thomas and John Buck and Leonard Greene appearing together on the title-page as University Printers. J.

[3] This is the document (Registry MS. 33. 1. 11) already alluded to, p. 294 and p. 296, and quoted on p. 300.

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of 4*s.*; in 1623 and 1626, he signs the Churchwardens' accounts as one of the Auditors; and he would appear to have died in 1630, as in that year there is an entry "for buriall of Mr Leonard Greene, 6*s.* 8*d.*"

15. Thomas Buck.

Thomas Buck, M.A. and one of the Esquire Bedells, was appointed by Grace, July 13, 1625. He would appear to have held the office of printer, or to have retained some interest in it, for upwards of 40 years, as after the death of John Field in 1668 there is a petition of T. and J. Buck against his estate. During this time Buck had several partners, none of whom seem to have found it easy to work with him, and much of the information that we get regarding the press is derived from their complaints and petitions addressed to the University authorities. The first is Leonard Greene, who was appointed three years before him, and in whose petition we read:

That whereas L. Gr. beinge acquainted with the matter of bookes and printinge by reason of his trade therein for the space of thirtie yeeres almost, and Mr Bucke being unexperienced, haveing lead a students life, the said L. Gr. did hide nothinge and conceale nothinge from the said Mr Bucke nor spare any paines (although to the hindrance of his owne busines divers from this) whereby the common benefite of the presse might be furthered.

That for divers copies the sole printinge whereof the said L. Gr. might have had for his owne profite as he is of the Company of Stationers of London, he hath ever brought to this presse, notwithstandinge he hath but a third part therein (and some of them and the best were his before ever Mr Bucke came into the place), and besides the charge of printinge at Cambridge is deerer then at London[1].

Greene then proceeds to complain of Buck taking as a new printing-office in his own name, and without consulting him, the Angell[2], "leased from Mr Lukyns," Greene desiring instead

[1] Registry MS. 33. 1. 11.

[2] Called at different times St Mary's Hostel, New Inn, and Angel. It stood, as I am informed by Mr J. W. Clark, on the site now occupied by the Senate House and the portion of Senate House Passage between that

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"that the presse might be placed in a house most convenient "for all their coming to it, as the Regent walke (in all men's "opinion the fittest), which Thomas and Legatt had successivelie "all their time hired—or els at the house where Mr Craine "dwelt[1]."

Thomas Buck's next partner was his brother John, also one of the Esquire Bedells, who was appointed by Grace Dec. 16, 1625, and who probably printed in partnership with him[2] from that time, although I find no record of any partnership arrangement. As early as 1627, we find the names of T. and J. Buck alone together on the title-page of a poem by Phineas Fletcher[3]. On May 15, 1632, articles of agreement were drawn up between T. and J. Buck, by which John assigned his printing patent to Thomas for seven years for a payment of £56 a year, and agreed to execute his brother's duties as Bedell during this period. Within two years of this agreement, differences arose between the two brothers, and copies of documents relating to these differences are in the Registry (MS. 33. 1. 21). The two brothers however retained a joint interest in the press to a much later period, as they appear together as claimants against John Field's estate in 1668.

Roger Daniel was appointed by Grace July 24, 1632, and articles of agreement were entered into between him and Thomas Buck, Aug. 21–22 following. From MS. 33. 1. 19, we learn that

building and Caius College. In the Audit book, 1695, there is an entry "To the Bursar of Bennet College a years rent for the ten[t] called St Mary's Hostel, now part of the New Inn due Mich. 1695 £1 4 0." This site however would seem to be as central as the Regent walk itself.

[1] There is a note in the St Mary's Parish Book by the late Mr Thomas Stevenson to the effect that Mr Craine's house was that in which he was then (1837) living. The house (at the corner of Trinity and St Mary's Streets) is that now occupied by Macmillan and Bowes, and before Stevenson's time was occupied by Nicholson, commonly called 'Maps.'

[2] See note on p. 299.

[3] *Locustæ vel Pietas Jesuitica*, etc. by Phineas Fletcher. Cambridge, 1627. 4to. J.

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Daniel agreed to take

That Capitall messuage and tenement called the Augustine Fryars[1] wherein the said Thomas Buck now dwelleth together with the printyng house & all other houses yards orchards closes wayes & all other easements & commodities thereunto belonging,

for a period of six years at the rate of £190 a year paid quarterly, this sum to include the two patents of Thomas Buck and John Buck.

On Feb. 2, 1633, new articles of agreement[2] were entered into for five years, by which Thomas Buck was to receive two-thirds of the profits and Roger Daniel one-third. On March 14, 1634, or in less than two years from the first agreement, Daniel complains[3]: "that whereas the petitioner was about August last "was twelve month chosen to be one of the University printers"...he had been led by Buck to enter upon conditions that he was not able to fulfil, and he asks the University to allow him to print independently of Buck. In a document[4] written at the same time as the petition from which the foregoing extracts are taken, he represents to the University the advantage that would arise from the establishment of more than one printing house.

That parting of the printers will beget in them a laudable emulation which of them shall deserve best either in the books set forth, or the manner of their setting forth, or the materialls.

It would appear therefore that although the University continued the old practice of appointing three printers, only one office existed up to this date. Notwithstanding these complaints, the partnership between T. Buck and Daniel did not come to an end, as their names occur together for several years, and on Sept. 5, 1639, articles of agreement were entered into between Buck and Daniel on the one part and certain London stationers on the other. The press was in a condition of great activity during the period that Buck was connected with it. There was

[1] The site of the New Museums in Pembroke Street and Free School Lane.
[2] MS. 33. 1. 20. [3] MS. 33. 1. 22. [4] MS. 33. 1. 23.

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an agreement with Edward Weaver[1], a London stationer, for three years to supply 500 reams of Almanacks; while not less than nine editions of the Bible were printed between 1628 and 1640.

From 1640 to 1650, Buck's name does not occur on the title-pages of books[2], but only Daniel's. In the latter year, however, Daniel's patent was withdrawn, and in 1651 and 1652, Buck's name again appears as 'printer to the University.' He is said to have resigned in 1653, but I cannot discover the authority for this statement, and as has already been seen, he claimed some interest in the business in 1668, only two years before his death in 1670.

Buck was elected Fellow of Catharine Hall, March 16, 161$\frac{5}{6}$, being then B.A. He took an active part in College affairs, especially in acquiring land for the new building, and "out of "the love and affection which he beareth to our said College" advanced money out of his own pocket for this purpose, as appears by entries in the College books between 1622 and 1637. In 1622, he was "M.A. and Fellow"; Jan. 27, 162$\frac{3}{4}$, "Fellow and "late Steward"; 1624, "one of the Esquire Bedells"; 1630, (Jan. 7) he is described as "late Fellow". Between 1624 and 1630, only two Fellows were elected, viz. July 9, 1627 and Jan. 7, 1630, and one of these must have been in the place of Buck. The Rev. G. F. Browne (who has kindly made the extracts from the College books from which the above facts are taken) inclines to the later date.

In 1632, Buck was living[3] at the house called the 'Augustine Friars,' which is in the parish of St Edward, and as his name is in the parish book of St Edward's in 1667 and 1669, it is probable that he continued to live there till the time of his death.

[1] MS. 33. 1. 12, 13.

[2] In 1640, Gerard's *Meditations* is printed by Roger Daniel for Thomas Buck. J.

[3] See p. 302.

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16. John Buck.

John Buck, one of the Esquire Bedells, was appointed printer by Grace, Dec. 16, 1625, and seems to have been living in 1668. Such particulars as are known respecting his connexion with the Press will be found under Thomas Buck. He was married and lived in the Parish of St Botolph. A son, Samuel, was baptised Nov. 18, 1632. Another son, John, was baptised June 11, 1635, and buried June 4, 1636. In 1669 "Mrs Bucke, John Bucke's wife was buried." In 1660, there is an entry of £5 received from Mr John Buck given by Mr Brooks for the poor of St Botolph Parish.

17. Francis Buck.

Francis Buck was appointed printer by Grace, Oct. 27, 1630, and resigned July 21, 1632, so that he held the office for less than two years. His name does not occur in any of the agreements between Thomas Buck and his various partners, nor have I ever seen it on the title-page of any book.

18. Roger Daniel.

Daniel was appointed by Grace July 24, 1632, and it has been necessary to give the main facts of his connection with the Cambridge press in a preceding section—that on Thomas Buck. I cannot find his name among those who were admitted freemen of the Stationers' Company up to the year 1640. In the year 1638 I find on the title-page of a large Bible Printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel "and are to be Sold by "Roger Daniel, at the Angell in Lumber Street, London." His name occurs on title-pages at a later date at the Angell, and it is therefore clear that while acting as one of the printers to

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the University, he had a book shop, perhaps also a printing office, in London.

On 23 August, 1642, the House of Commons ordered

That Roger Daniell, Printer to the University of Cambridge, be forthwith summoned to attend the House, concerning printing the Book set forth in Defence of the Commission of Array[1].

And on September 3 it was ordered

That Mr Daniel, the Printer of the University of Cambridge, be injoined by this House, not to print anything concerning the Proceedings of Parliament, without the Consent or Order of one or both Houses of Parliament: And that he be discharged of further Attendance[2].

In January 164$\frac{2}{3}$ the House of Commons took offence at the publication of *The Resolving of Conscience*, etc., by Henry Fern, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Chester. Roger Daniel was taken into custody of the Serjeant at Arms for printing this work; but on the 2nd of February the House ordered him to be forthwith bailed, and on the production of the warrant for the printing under the hand of Dr Holdsworth, the Vice-Chancellor, it was

Resolved, upon the Question, that Dr Holdsworth forthwith be sent up, in safe Custody, at his own charges: and that Captain Cromwell be desired to take care to send him up accordingly[3].

Daniel's patent was cancelled for neglect on June 1, 1650, but he continued to print books in London; for instance, in 1651[4], his shop is "in vico vulgò dicto Pater-noster-row, aulâ vero Lovellianâ," and in 1658 he appears as the printer of a book 'at the Angel'.

[1] ***His Majesties answer to the Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, Concerning the Commission of Array: Of the first of July*** **1642. Printed by his Majesties speciall command, At Cambridge, By Roger Daniel, Printer to the famous Universitie. 1642. 4to.**

[2] *Commons' Journals*, II. 733, 751 quoted in Cooper *Ann.* III. 332.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, II. 900, 951, quoted in Cooper *Ann.* III. 337.

[4] See the titlepage of *Patriarchæ sive Iesu Christi Genealogia per Mundi ætates traducta a D. Emanuele Thesauro.* 1651. 8°. J.

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19. JOHN LEGATE (THE YOUNGER).

John Legate, the younger, was admitted freeman of the Stationers' Company 6 September, 1619, and in the following year entered[1] certain publications of his father, 42 books in all, 26 of them being by Perkins. He is said by Ames to have obtained in 1626 licence to print Thomas's *Dictionary*, and he continued to use the University stamp and to describe himself on the title-pages of books[2] as Printer to the University, as his father had done, although I can find no reference to any appointment till 1650. It seems probable therefore that until this year he traded on his father's name. He was appointed one of the University printers by Grace July 5, 1650, evidently in succession to Roger Daniel, whose patent was cancelled on June 1 of the same year. On October 10, 1655, Legate's own patent was cancelled for neglect.

In a list [without date: about 1635] of "The names of suche as keepe printing-houses" there is the following entry:

Master John Legate succeeded John Legate his ffather about 14 yeeres since, I beleeve never admitted, but as I have beene credibly informed his ffather being Printer for Cambridge, and there printing some of the [Stationers'] Companies privileged Ware, to their prejudice; was by the Company allowed to set up and worke here on condicon he would doe so no more (he hath no other right) (he hath sold away his printing house at Cambridg[e])[3].

In the Register of St Botolph Parish there is the following entry:

1642. John Leggat and Elizabeth Grime married June 25.

[1] Arber IV. 45.

[2] e.g. in 1626, 1628, 1633, 1648.

[3] Arber, *Stat. Reg.* III. 701 from *State Papers* Charles I. vol. 307, Art. 86. The sentences printed within brackets are added subsequently.

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20. JOHN FIELD.

John Field was appointed printer by Grace Oct. 12, 1655. Before that date he was "printer to the parliament," in which capacity he produced many editions of the Bible, that of 1653 in 32mo. forming the subject of an article in Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, "Pearl Bibles, and 6000 errata." His name occurs on the title-page of Bibles as early as 1648 and as late as 1668, the year of his death. He would seem to have continued his London press, at least for a time, after the date of his appointment as printer at Cambridge, as books were printed by him in 1658, in which he describes himself as "one of His Highness's Printers." In a pamphlet entitled *The London Printers Lamentacon, or, the Press opprest, and ouerprest*, there is a fierce attack on Field and the two other Republican printers, Newcome and Hills:

Who printed the pretended Act of the Commons of England *for the setting up an High Court of Justice, for the tryall of his Martyred Majesty* in 1648? Or, *the Acts for abolishing King-Ship, and renouncing the Royall Line and Title of the Stuarts?* Or, *for the Declaring what Offences should be adjudged Treason? For taking the Engagement? for sale of Dean and Chapters Lands? for sale of the Kings, Queens and Princes Goods and Lands; and the Fee-farme Rents? for sale of Delinquents Lands;* or, *the Proclamation of* 13. *of September* 1652 after the fight at Worcester, *offering, One Thousand pound to any person, to bring in his Majesties person?* but only John Field Printer to the Parliament of England (and since by Cromwell was and is continued printer to the University of Cambridge!)...Have they [Hills and Field] not invaded and still do intrude upon His Maiesties Royall Priviledge, Prærogative and Præeminence; and by the pusillanimous Cowardize and insignificant Compact of Master Christopher Barker [the younger], and another of his name, and (not without probable suspicion) by the consent and connivance of Master John Bill (though he was artificially defeated in his expectations of profit;) Have they not obtained, (and now keep in their actuall possession) the Manuscript Copy of the last Translation of the holy Bible in English (attested with the hands of the Venerable and learned Translators in King James his time) ever since 6 March 1655?[1]

[1] Arber, *Stat. Reg.* III. 27, 28.

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There is a letter dated August 17, 1668, from Charles II. to the Vice-Chancellor, desiring that a printer be not yet appointed in succession to the late John Field, whose estate is considerably engaged in the service of the press. Field appears in the St Botolph Parish Books as paying rates from 1657 to 1668. He held office in 1660 as Churchwarden and Headbrow[1]. Field built in 1655 a new Printing Office in Silver Street (Carter 469), the University having for that purpose taken a lease of the ground from Queens' College for a term of years; and by several renewals this continued to be the University printing-office till about 1827, when the Pitt Press was commenced. It stood on the north side of Silver Street, on a portion of the site now occupied by the new Master's Lodge of St Catharine's College.

21. Matthew Whinn, M.A., St John's.

The Grace for sealing Whinn's patent is dated 16 March 1669. He also held the office of Registrary, to which he was elected in 1645.

22. John Hayes.

John Hayes was appointed printer by Grace Oct. 14, 1669, it having been decided by the Heads of houses on July 7 to lease the printing to him for £100 a year, the office having been left open for nearly a year in consequence of the letter of Charles II. of August 17, 1668, already alluded to under John Field. There is in the Registry a bond (dated 28 October,

[1] Head-borough, Head-borrow. In England formerly the chief of a frank-pledge, tithing, or decennary, consisting of ten families. Called in some counties Bors-holder, that is, Borough's elder, and sometimes tithing-man. In England Head-boroughs are now known by the name of Petty-constables. *Imperial Dictionary* (Ogilvie and Annandale, 1883).

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1703), by which J. Hayes and J. Collyer undertake to pay £150 a year to the University so long as Hayes continues Printer[1]. He seems to have done so until the following year, and from a tablet in Botolph Church we find that he died 28 November 1705, aged 71. In the year 1696 active measures were taken to improve the condition of the press. The Duke of Somerset, Chancellor, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor on June 29 of that year suggesting the re-establishment of the press; stating that £800 had been raised towards the erection of a new building, and offering to endeavour to raise a further like sum. In this work however Hayes would appear to have had no part, as in all arrangements for the purchase of new type, &c., his successor, Cornelius Crownfield, who was then acting as Inspector of the Press, seems to have been always employed.

From the time of Field, 1655, the University Printing Office has continued in the Parish of St Botolph[2], and the printers therefore appear as ratepayers, &c., in that parish. Hayes so appears from 1669 to 1705; in 1672 he was elected sidesman and in 1669 churchwarden.

23. John Peck, M.A., St John's.

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 20 October 1680. He also held the office of Esquire Bedell, to which he was elected in 1669.

[1] Registry MS. 33. 1. 32.

[2] Samuel Sewall, the American judge, describes it in 1689. 'By it [Katherine Hall] the Printing Room, which is about 60 foot long and 20 foot broad. Six Presses. Had my cousin Hull and my name printed there. Paper windows, and a pleasant garden along one side between Katherine Hall and that. Had there a Print of the Combinations.' *England in* 1689. *Being extracts from a Diary etc.* Communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, U.S.A., 1878, by James Greenstreet: Printed for the Society, 1878, and reprinted in *Walford's Antiquarian* for September, 1885, page 129.

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24. Hugh Martin, M.A., Pemb.

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 9 December 1682. He received a salary of £5, but in the year 1691 there is a Grace for an augmentation by consent of the Heads for three years, and during that and the two following years there is an extra payment of £5 to him and to Jonathan Pindar. On October 10, 1698, there is a Grace for an annuity of £5 each to Martin and Pindar, "formerly elected printers." Martin received that salary certainly till 1705, and probably till 1716. He also held the office of Esquire Bedell from 1680 to 1716.

25. Dr James Jackson.

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 7 November 1683.

26. Jonathan Pindar[1].

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 11 June 1686.

27. H. Jenkes.

Grace for sealing Patent 30 March 1693. He received a salary of £5, with an extra £5 "by consent of the Heads." In 1698 there is in the Audit Book Mr Halman for Mr Jenkes 1 year and a ½ as printer, £7. 10*s.*; more, an additional gift to Mr Jenkes "as he is a poor man", £7. 10*s.*

[1] The name of Pindar occurs frequently in the University Books and Parish Registers. A Jonathan Pindar appears in the St Mary's Parish Book in 1625. From the Audit Books we learn that in 1656–7 Jonathan Pindar received £5 "in consideration of his paines in the Library in transcribing several Catalogues"; and in 1692, 1693, 1694 payments were made to a bookbinder of the name. In 1693 there is a payment "To Goodwife Pindar by order of the Audit £3."

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28. Jonathan Pindar.

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 8 September 1697. Like his namesake, he received as printer a salary of £5, with additions. On August 28, 1730, there is a Grace declaring the voidance of the office of Printer to be necessary before certain proposals for printing Bibles and Prayer-Books can be settled, and offering Pindar the continuance of his full salary after his resignation.

29. Cornelius Crownfield.

The nomination and pricking for election of Crownfield took place December 16, 1705, and the Grace for sealing his patent is of date Feb. 11, 170$\frac{5}{6}$[1]. But although his formal appointment did not take place until this date, he was engaged in the service of the press for many years before the death of John Hayes, and would seem to have been the business adviser of the Curators of the press from 1698, the year in which they were first appointed[2].

There exists among the documents at the Press the Minute-book of the Curators from 1698 to 1741, which affords much information about the work then going on, and from which copious extracts have been made in Mr Chr. Wordsworth's *University Studies*, Appendix IX. At the meeting of the Curators on August 23, 1698 (which appears to have been the first), leave is given to Mr Tonson, of London, to print 4to. editions of Virgil, Horace, Terence, Catullus, Tibullus, and Pro-

[1] After the revolution, one Cornelius Crownfield, a Dutchman, who had been a soldier, and a very ingenious man, had that office, as he told me himself in Cambridge in 1739, and is since succeeded by Mr Joseph Bentham. Ames (1749) p. 462.

[2] Grace January 21, 169$\frac{7}{8}$. Among the Curators is "Mr Laughton, Coll: Trin: Academiæ Architypographus."

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pertius; and on the same day it was agreed that Cornelius Crownfield have leave to send to Rotterdam for 300 lbs. of double pica for printing the same. On Nov. 9, 1698, it was resolved that Mr Crownfield be allowed ten shillings per week for the inspection of the press. In the minutes of March 1, $169\frac{8}{9}$, an order is directed to be signed by "the Delegates and Mr Crownfield the Printer."

The University now for the first time undertook to manage the Press for itself. Hitherto the University had appointed the printers in the first instance, but had left them to make the business arrangements at their own risk, and print what they chose, so long as it obtained the *imprimatur* of the University authorities. Henceforward every book printed was sanctioned directly by the Curators, who determined the price per sheet, and among other details appointed some competent person to correct for the press.

The minutes consist largely of permissions to Cambridge booksellers to print books at the press; the names of these booksellers, Webster, Jeffery, etc., are found on the title-pages. Among them frequently appears the name of Crownfield himself, from which it would seem that he was a bookseller on his own account, as well as being University printer. An agreement with Tonson of London is mentioned above; one book at least is printed for a Newcastle bookseller. On October 4, 1701[1], they entered into an agreement with John Owen of Oxford Stationer for the production of an edition of Suidas' Lexicon, 3 vols. folio; Owen to pay £1. 10*s.* 6*d.* per sheet, paying for the first 100 copies when the second 100 were ready for delivery, and so on, six months credit being given for the last 200. The whole stock was to remain at the Press as security till paid for. Owen evidently was unable to fulfil his part of the engagement, as on April 16, 1703, a Grace was passed for a new contract with Sir T. Jannson,

[1] Registry MS. 33. 6. 31; Minutes of the Curators, p. 18.

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in place of John Owen, insolvent. Owen's failure placed the University in difficulties with regard to the work, and correspondence and negotiations respecting it went on for a period of 40 years. Owen had one large book printed in Cambridge in 1703—the first volume of Cellarius' Geography. The second volume was printed at Amsterdam in 1706.

On Feb. 25, $17\frac{39}{40}$, a resolution was passed to appoint a new inspector, and to allow the present, now infirm, to continue his full salary; and on March 24, 1740, it was resolved that Joseph Bentham be appointed in the room of C. Crownfield.

Crownfield was living in the parish of St Edward from 1700 to 1704, as, with other parishioners, he signs the parish book at the Easter meeting in each of those years. He may have been living there before 1700, but there is no list of parishioners given in the book. From 1707 he appears in the rate book of St Botolph. In that year there is an entry of a 22 months' rate "Cornelius Crownfield for the Univ. £1. 13*s.* 0*d.*," the first time it appears in this form, and probably the first time that the rate was paid directly by the University, as Hayes paid a fixed sum to the University for his printing rights, and so would pay rate on his own account. In 1726 the rent on which Crownfield is rated is £16, and his name continues till 1742. In the registers there are entries of baptisms and burials of several children: 1710, James baptized; 1710, Anne-Penelope, baptised; 1711, Catern buried; 1714, Thomas, baptized[1]. In 1733 is an entry "Mary, wife of Cornelius Crownfield, buried" and Nov. 4, 1743, Cornelius Crownfield, printer to the University.

In St Botolph Book, March 1, 1715, is the following entry:

Received of Mr Crownfield for the year 1708 seven shillings for a piece

[1] There were two of the name of Crownfield who graduated at Clare: Henry, entered July 9, 1715, pupil of Mr Laughton; Thomas, entered May 27, 1729, pupil of Dr Wilcox, afterwards Fellow of Queens'. The latter would not improbably be the son of Cornelius Crownfield.

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of ground commonly called the round O in his garden which should have been paid at 1 shilling the year for the use of the poor.

There was an Adrian Crownfield married and living in the parish at the same time, who is sometimes described as "junior"; and in 1760 the names of C. and J. Crownfield appear on the title-page of a book.

Carter states that from 1696, when Crownfield was appointed Inspector of the Press till 1707 [he should have said 1705], when Hayes died, there were two printing offices: one that then in use [1753 when Carter wrote] and where Hayes printed; and the other the Anatomy School and Elaboratory. After much search I am unable either to confirm or rebut this statement. In its favour there is the evidence of the Minute Book of the Curators from 1698, in which Crownfield's name frequently appears, but Hayes' not at all. Against there is the fact that Hayes alone appears in the parish book as ratepayer, neither the University nor Crownfield coming in the book till 1707, after Hayes' death; and Crownfield having lived certainly till 1704 in the parish of St Edward. The following entries from the University audit book show that payments for printing were being made both to Hayes and to Crownfield during the period in question:

		£	s.	d.
1697.	Mr Hayes the Printer, a Bill	25	3	0
1698.	„ „ „	5	13	6
	A book of Verses, Mr Hayes, for Printing . . .	40	0	0
1702.	Mr Hayes for 15 Psalm Books and printing the Assize of Bread	0	12	6
1702.	Mr Crownfield for printing combinations &c. this year and paper for the same	2	10	0
	Verses: Crownfield for paper £6 12*s.* and £16 . .	22	12	0
	Paid Press account for printing 31 sheets . . .	16	14	0
	Mr Hayes for printing Hebrew, &c. Verses . .	2	0	0
1703.	„ „ „ the Assize of Bread . .	5	11	0
1704.	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ . . .	0	15	0
1705.	Mr Crownfield's Bill for Combination Verses, &c. .	5	14	0

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30. W. Fenner, Mrs Fenner, and Thomas and John James.

It will be more convenient to deal with these four names together. On December 29, 1730, the Syndics resolved to lease the right of printing Bibles and Prayer-Books to James and Fenner; and on April 23, 1731, a lease was granted to W. Fenner for 11 years. This license was granted to Fenner for the special purpose of printing from stereotype plates. In Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. II. 721 will be found a full account of this matter, from which we quote:

> William Ged, an ingenious artist, was a Goldsmith in Edinburgh, and made his improvement in the art of printing in 1725 * * * * In July 1729 William Ged entered into partnership with William Fenner, a London stationer, who was to have half the profits, in consideration of his advancing all the money requisite. To supply this Mr John James, then an Architect at Greenwich,.....was taken into the scheme, and afterwards his brother, Mr Thomas James, a Founder, and James Ged, the inventor's son. In 1730 these partners applied to the University of Cambridge for permission to print Bibles and Prayer-Books by Blocks instead of single types, and, in consequence, a lease was sealed to them April 23, 1731. In their attempt they sank a large sum of money, and finished only two Prayer-Books: so that it was forced to be relinquished, and the lease was given up in 1738.

It will be seen that the first attempt to work from stereotype plates was made at Cambridge, and that it was not at that time successful. Fenner died insolvent about the year 1734, and his widow continued the printing under the lease, notwithstanding the strong protests of John James, who claimed that *he* had got the concession from the University, that he and his brother Thomas had found about £1000 of the capital for which they had had no return, and that Fenner's name was inserted in the lease only because he was a practical printer, while his partners were not. There was a long correspondence between John James and the University, in which he charged the Fenners with dishonesty towards him; and to these charges

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Mrs Fenner replied. The matter was only settled in 1738, by a composition, and Mrs Fenner relinquishing the lease.

Certain London Stationers, with Baskett, King's Printer, entered June 28, 1732, a Bill in Chancery against Fenner for printing Bibles, but on August 4, 1733, an order was obtained to dissolve the injunction against the defendants. Although the action was taken against Fenner, it was really an attack on the printing rights of the University.

Thomas and John James were the sons of a London type founder; Thomas, who was also a type founder, was greatly injured in purse and in health from his connection with Ged's invention, and died in 1738.

At a later period stereotyping was revived by Alexander Tilloch, editor of the *Philosophical Magazine*, who did not know of Ged's plan, and obtained a patent for a similar invention, which he afterwards relinquished. But the exertions of Andrew Wilson were more successful; and an account of his arrangements with the University will be found under the year 1804.

31. Joseph Bentham.

On Dec. 13, 1740 there was a Grace to appoint a Printer *durante bene placito;* the nomination of Joseph Bentham and W. Goodbed took place the same day; and Joseph Bentham was elected on the next. On January 5, 174$\frac{1}{2}$, the suit of Baskett *v.* Bentham was commenced, by which the King's Printer sought to prevent the University Printer from printing an abridgment of the Excise Acts, and the litigation was continued until 1758. On Nov. 24 of that year the Court of King's Bench decided in favour of the University. On Jan. 20, 174$\frac{3}{4}$, there was a Resolution of the Syndics that Mr Bentham is to sell no Bibles without an order from one of the Syndics. On Feb. 26, 1749, the Syndics resolved that Mr Bentham

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should demand of all Authors in arrear with the Press, the payment of all sums due within twelve months. On Nov. 7, 1765, the Syndics resolved to appoint an assistant to Bentham. John Archdeacon was appointed Inspector of the Press in place of Joseph Bentham, Oct. 29, 1766 and on Dec. 13, Bentham resigned. The Syndics allowed him to retain the use of the house at the Press.

Bentham, one of 10 children, was the son of the Rev. Samuel Bentham, Vicar of Witchford near Ely, and descended from a very ancient family in Yorkshire, and brother of James Bentham the historian of Ely Cathedral. He was an Alderman of the town, and died June 1, 1778, aged 68, and was buried in Trumpington Church.

Bentham appears as ratepayer in the Parish of St Botolph from 1743 to 1779. On March 2, 174$\frac{5}{6}$ the rental on which rating is made is £22, but other properties are added in subsequent years. 1761, New Printing Office, £12, and Tenements, Silver Street, £5. 5*s.* and £2. 10*s.*, Pembroke Lane £2. 5*s.*, Black Lion Yard £4, Cock Yard £2. 10*s.* From 1767 New Printing Office £12 is rated to Archdeacon (in 1771 it is described as "White Lyon Warehouse"): from same date he pays £11, part of Printing Office. From 1779 Archdeacon pays the whole.

32. John Baskerville.

John Baskerville, the celebrated type founder and printer of Birmingham, was born at Wolverley in the County of Worcester in 1706; in 1726 he became a writing master at Birmingham; in 1737 taught at a School in the Bull Ring; in 1745 took a large building to carry on the business of a Japanner; and in 1750 tried his first experiments in type founding, in which business and that of printer, he was chiefly engaged for the next 15 years. He was elected printer for 10 years from December 16, 1758, according to Articles of Agreement dated December 15. The

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following letter written to the Vice-Chancellor in May of the next year will show what work he was engaged upon.

Birmingham, 31 May, 1759.

Sir,

I have at last sent everything requisite to begin the Prayer Book at Cambridge. The Bearer M^r^ Tho. Warren is my Deputy in conducting the whole. I have ordered him to inform you of every step he takes, and to desire you would appoint a person to tell out the number of sheets before they go to press and again before they are packed up for Birmingham. M^r^ Bentham will inform you how many sheets per 1000 are allowed for wast. I have attempted several ornaments, but none of them please me so well as the specimen; which I hope will be approved by you and the Gentlemen of the Syndick. I propose printing off 2000 the first impression, but only 1000 of the State holidays &c. which the patentee has left out. The paper is very good and stands me in 27/ or 28/ the ream.

I am taking great pains in order to produce a striking title page and specimen of the Bible, which I hope will be ready in about six weeks. The importance of the work demands all my attention; not only for my own (eternal) reputation; but (I hope) also to convince the world, that the University in the honour done me has not intirely misplaced their Favours.

You will please to accept, and give my most respectful duty to the University, particularly to the Gentlemen of the Syndick. I should be very happy if I could make an Interest to a few gent^n^ to whom the work would not be disagreeable, to survey the sheets, after my people had corrected them as accurately as they are able that I might, if possible be free from every error of the press; for which I would gladly make suitable acknowledgment. I procured a Sealed copy of the Common Prayer with much trouble and expense from the Cathedral of Litchfield, but found it the most inaccurate and ill printed book I ever saw: so that I returned it with thanks.

I am S^r^ Y^r^ most obed^t^ hble Serv^t^
JOHN BASKERVILLE.

Addressed on the back
The Rev^d^ Doctor Caryll Vice Chancellor
of the University of
Cambridge.

In a letter to Horace Walpole dated Easy Hill, Birmingham, Nov. 2, 1762 he thus speaks of his arrangements with the University:

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The University of Cambridge have given me a grant to print their 8vo. and 12mo. Common Prayer Books: but under such Shackles as greatly hurt me. I pay them for the former, twenty, and for the latter twelve shillings the thousand; and to the Stationers' Company thirty-two pounds for their permission to print one edition of the Psalms in metre to the small Prayer-Book; add to this the great expense of double and treble carriage; and the inconvenience of a double printing-house an hundred miles off. All this summer I have had nothing to print at home. My Folio Bible is pretty far advanced at Cambridge which will cost me 2000*l* all hired at 5 per cent. If this does not sell, I shall be obliged to sacrifice a small patrimony, which brings me in 74*l* a year, to this business of printing, which I am heartily tired of, and repent I ever attempted. It is surely a particular hardship, that I should not get bread in my own country (and it is too late to go abroad) after having acquired the reputation of excelling in the most useful art known to mankind; while every one who excels as a Player, Fiddler, Dancer, &c. not only lives in affluence, but has it in their power to save a fortune[1].

On July 3, 1761, articles of agreement were entered into between the University and Baskerville, and they are probably those alluded to in the foregoing letter. He produced his folio Bible in 1763, and Nichols says that after that he seemed to have become weary of his printing, and that in 1765 he wrote to his friend Dr Franklin, then in Paris, to see if he could dispose of his types. Franklin answered, "that the French, reduced by the "War of 1756, were so far from being able to pursue schemes of "taste, that they were unable to repair their public buildings, "and suffered the scaffolding to rot before them." He died in 1775.

33. JOHN ARCHDEACON.

John Archdeacon, a native of Ireland, was appointed Inspector of the Press in place of J. Bentham, Oct. 29, 1766; the latter having resigned December 13 following, Archdeacon was elected Printer December 15. On May 26, 1768, a resolution of the Syndics of the Press fixed his salary at £140 per ann., without any contingent advantages. Although Archdeacon's

[1] Nichols *Lit. Anecd.* VI. 453 n.

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appointment as Inspector was not made until 1766, it will presently appear that he was connected with the Press in the previous year. In Nichols *Lit. Anec.* Vol. II. 459, we read:

In consequence of overtures from a few respectable friends at Cambridge, M^r^ Bowyer had some inclination towards the latter end of 1765, to have undertaken the management of the University Press, by purchasing a lease and their exclusive privileges, by which for several years they had cleared a considerable sum. To accomplish this he took a journey to Cambridge; and afterwards sent the compiler of these anecdotes to negotiate with the Vice-Chancellor. The treaty was fruitless; but he did not much regret the disappointment.

Nichols wrote to Bowyer as follows:—

Sunday afternoon Sept. 15, 1765.

Good Sir

I write to you now from the house of M^r^ Labutt, with whom I have dined, and who has most obligingly shown me all in his power. M^r^ Archdeacon is not at home. I have opened to M^r^ Labutt my plan, who is of opinion that something may be done. I have talked also with a compositor, who is sensible, and who now works in the house. Six hundred a year I believe may carry it. They *talk* of *ten* having been offered. For 7 years last past the University have *cleared one-thousand-three-hundred pounds* annually; besides farming the Almanack (200l more). This might at least be *doubled by opening the trade* in new channels. If any bookseller of reputation would enter into a scheme with you, an *immense fortune would certainly be raised*.....

In Bowyer's reply he says:

Mr Archdeacon as you observe, must be a leading person, and there is some delicacy necessary to be shown to him.

A note is added:

M^r^ John Archdeacon, a very excellent printer; whom the University appointed to succeed M^r^ Bentham; and who continued in that office several years. He died at Hemingford Abbots, Sept. 10, 1795, æt 70.

The following is extracted from a letter of the Rev. William Ludlam of St John's College[1]:

For my own part, I am sometimes forced to make types, which are commonly brass, of which I here send you a specimen (±a ±b ±c).

[1] Nichols *Lit. Anecd.* Vol. VIII. 414.

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It is called plus-minus ±. I printed my first tracts at Cambridge, when Archdeacon (not Bentham) was their printer. I was very sick of it; the University meanly provided with mathematical types, insomuch that they used daggers turned sideways for *plus's*. They were sunk into arrant traders, even to printing hand-bills, quack-bills, &c., which they then for the first time permitted for Archdeacon's profit. As to table-work of which I had a deal, they knew nothing of it; and many a brass rule was I forced to make myself..... I complained of this to M^r^ Bowyer, and would have had him print my essay on Hadley's quadrant; but he was too full of more important work. I remember I told him I had marked all Archdeacon's damaged letters; which were not a few, especially in the italic. To which the old gentleman replied "I dont like you the better for that."

Archdeacon did not die till 1795, but his successor, John Burges, was appointed in 1793, and from that date until the death of the former, the two names appeared together as printers.

Archdeacon first appears in the books of St. Botolph, rated at £5, Sept. 1759; at £6, 3rd Quarter 1761; June 23, 1767, £12 for New Printing house (in 1771, described as "White Lyon Warehouse"); Dec. 3, 1771, £11 (half of the printing office, Bentham paying the other half); March 15, 1779, the remaining half of printing office, £11. This total, £34, continued till the end of Archdeacon's residence at the Press, 1794. He died[1] at Hemingford Abbots, Sept. 10, 1795, age 70.

34. John Burges.

John Burges was elected July 1, 1793, and, until Archdeacon's death in 1795, acted in partnership with him. He died April 16, 1802, aged 54, and was buried in St Botolph's Church. He appears in the rate book of St Botolph from July 4, 1794, to July 7, 1802, paying, like Archdeacon, on a rental of £34. The name of John Burges is in the books of the parish from Sept. 23, 1776, for a house in Pembroke Lane, formerly held by Archdeacon, rent £2. 5*s*. This may have been the same John Burges who was afterwards printer.

[1] Nichols' *Lit. Anec.* Vol. II. 460 n.

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35. JOHN DEIGHTON.

John Deighton was elected April 28, 1802, received his patent July 28, and resigned December 11 in the same year. Although he only held the office of printer for about eight months, he was apparently connected with the press, even at that time, as publisher. On 5 July, 1803, a bond was executed by J. Deighton, F. Hodson, and R. Newcome, for securing payment of £2323. 10*s*., the price of the whole of the University stock of 8vo. Bibles (MS. 33. 1. 44).

A volume with four catalogues of J. Deighton, belonging to Messrs Deighton, Bell and Co., which has been kindly lent to me by Mr W. W. Smith, contains at the end the following entries:

J. Deighton commenced Book-binder at C May 1. 1777
Bookseller at C Jan. 1. 1778
Married Feb. 11. 1779
Removed to London Jan. 1786

A later hand has added in pencil:

Qy returned to Cambridge, Feb. 1795, successor to Merrill.]

The first "Catalogue of Books, including the Library of the "Rev. Dr Barnardiston, late Principal Librarian to the University "of Cambridge, and Master of Corpus Christi College," is dated November, 1778, and Deighton describes himself as successor to Mr Matthews, bookseller, near Great St Mary's Church. At the end of the catalogue he is called Book and Printseller, Stationer and Bookbinder, but the word "Print" is drawn through with the pen, and "near Great St Mary's Church" is changed in the same way to "opposite the Senate House." In the three other catalogues, dated Dec. 4, 1780, Nov. 1783, and Dec. 1784, the address is given as opposite the Senate House, so it is not improbable that, before he went to London, Deighton's shop was on the site of that occupied as a bookshop

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successively by the second John Nicholson, son of "Old Maps," from 1807, by Thomas Stevenson from 1822; and by Macmillans since 1846.

John Deighton would appear to have returned to Cambridge in 1795, and, perhaps, as suggested above, to take the business of J. and J. Merrill, one of the most important in Cambridge during the last half of the 18th century. His two sons, John and Joseph Jonathan, were in partnership with him from 1813, and he died in the parish of St Michael, 16 January, 1828, aged 80. From 1827 the two sons carried on the business as J. & J. J. Deighton till 31 Aug. 1848, when the latter died, aged 56, and was buried in St Bene't churchyard. From that date John Deighton continued the business alone till 13 July, 1854, when he died at the age of 63, and was buried in Grantchester churchyard. After his death the business was bought by Messrs George Bell and W. W. Smith, and has been carried on since then under its present style of Deighton, Bell and Co.

36. Richard Watts.

Richard Watts was elected Dec. 16, 1802, and his connection with the Press terminated by his resignation in 1809. From 1802 to June, 1806, the rate in the St Botolph books is entered as for University Printing Office; from Sept. 1806 to Dec. 1809 in the name of Richard Watts. The rent is still £34. From a pamphlet entitled "Facts and Observations relative to the state "of the University Press," printed towards the end of 1809, it would appear that serious differences had arisen between the Syndics and Watts. In the spring, 1808, two of the Syndics—Dr Milner and Mr Wood—were appointed to investigate the Press accounts, and they requested Mr Watts to make out a statement of the accounts for the five years, Michaelmas, 1802 to Michaelmas, 1807. The Syndics represented that, whereas during the 15 or 20 years prior to 1802 there had been a profit

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of not less than £1500 a year; under Watts' management for the five years ending 1807 there had been no profit at all. Watts, irritated by the enquiry, resigned June 13, 1808, and at the next meeting of the Syndics his resignation was accepted. A subsequent application to withdraw his resignation "in con- "sequence of the more due consideration of the causes which "led to it," was made to the Syndics, but they resolved that no answer could be given till the examination of the accounts was concluded, and apparently the matter was never re-opened. The accounts were not finally completed till June, 1809, when Mr Watts, having surrendered his patent into the hands of the Vice-Chancellor, it was resolved that a new printer be elected in October. In his final letter of June 17, 1809, Watts admits certain mistakes in the accounts, and that the pecuniary result was not what might have been expected. After leaving Cambridge Watts went in the first instance to Broxbourne, where his name appears in the parish books from 1810 to Nov. 1815. In the latter year there appeared an octavo edition of Walton's *Angler*, with imprint: "London: printed for Samuel Bagster, in "the Strand, by R. Watts, at Broxbourne, on the River Lea, "Herts., 1815." About the end of 1815[1] he left Broxbourne, for London; and early in the following year a book printed for the Church Missionary Society has imprint: "Printed by "Richard Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar, London," with date "Lady-day, 1816." While at Broxbourne he was appointed Printer to the Hon. East India Company's College at Haileybury, and retained the appointment after his removal to London, printing for the College Classical and Oriental Examination Papers for Professor Jeremie and others. He paid special attention to printing, in Oriental and other Foreign

[1] For the information respecting Watts after he left Broxbourne I am indebted to Mr C. Cornish, of Messrs Gilbert and Rivington, Limited; and for the examination of the Broxbourne Parish Registers to Mr J. S. Vaizey, Barrister-at-Law, Churchwarden.

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languages, Bibles, Testaments, and other works for the British and Foreign Bible Society, Church Missionary Society, &c. He printed also Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*, Johnson's *Persian Dictionary*, Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*, and some of the Catalogues of Oriental Books and MSS. in the British Museum.

He died at Edmonton, March 24, 1844, at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son, William Mavor Watts, who, in 1867, the premises being required for the new Law Courts, removed to Gray's Inn Road. On March 19, 1870, a fire destroyed the premises with all the types. Fortunately the punches and matrices were preserved in another building, and Mr Watts retiring from business on account of ill-health, these passed into the hands of Messrs Gilbert and Rivington, who re-cast the types and added many others.

37. Andrew Wilson.

Early in 1804, and soon after Richard Watts had been elected printer, a proposal was made to the University by Andrew Wilson, a London printer, that he should on terms to be agreed upon communicate his secret respecting stereotyping. This secret was the invention of Earl Stanhope, who refused to receive anything in respect of it, or even the repayment of a sum of £6000 spent in experiments. In what it differed from the invention of Ged in 1725, which was exercised in Cambridge by Fenner and James 1730—38, does not appear; and as Ged's invention was not a pecuniary success it is possible that it was forgotten, and that Lord Stanhope's invention was entirely independent of it. Dr William Chambers, writing in 1867 says, that the art of stereotyping has undergone little change since its invention by Ged.

A preliminary agreement was drawn up between the Syndics and Wilson, April 20, 1804, under which Wilson was to receive for a period of fourteen years one-third of the savings

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effected by stereotyping; and jointly with Watts the University Printer to act as agent for the sale of the Bibles and Prayer Books. To estimate the savings, each party was to appoint an arbitrator, and these in case of difference had power to appoint an umpire. The work of stereotyping under this preliminary agreement had not been going on for two years before the services of the arbitrators were required, and in 1806 Wilson's Case was printed in a pamphlet of 44 pages. The nature of the agreement would be very likely to lead to differences, unless the items that were to form the basis of the calculations of savings were clearly defined. In Wilson's 'Case' he claims that the stereotype process having enabled the Syndics, by an expenditure of £1500, to turn their warehouse into a printing-office instead of building a new one at a cost of £4500, the difference, £3000, was a stereotype saving in which he had a right to participate.

On March 6, 1807, an agreement between the Syndics and Wilson provided for the payment of a bill for stereotyping plates amounting to £865. 16*s.* 9*d.*, on condition that some of the plates not then delivered should be delivered within one week; and that Wilson within eight weeks should make and deliver the plates for a nonpareil Welsh Testament, charged at the same rate as those contained in the bill. It was further provided that the University should make so many stereotype plates of 8vo. editions of Ainsworth's Dictionary and Johnson's Dictionary as should come to the amount of Wilson's bills, he supplying at once the original types for the purpose; and a bond for £2000, with R. Watts as surety, was executed to secure the payment of one-third of the amount, and of £500 advanced for the purchase of types, on the delivery of the plates and return of the types; one-third in nine, and one-third in eighteen months. It was a condition that this agreement should bind neither party in other matters in dispute. The following are the details of Wilson's bill:

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Example 1.

	£.	s.	d.
The Bourgeois Testament in M^r Wilson's Bill July 10, 1805:			
Casework of 228 pages at 2*s.* 4*d.* per page 26 12 0			
Reading ¼th 6 13 0			
Double of the above two sums	66	10	0
Alterations, over-running, &c. £11. 1*s.* 10½: the double of this	22	3	9
One set of plates 470 lbs. 4 oz. at 3*s.* per lb., viz. the price per lb. of Bourgeois types	70	10	9
	£159	4	6
A printer's principal gain being upon the press-work, one half of the sum thus arising exclusive of the alterations (viz. £137. 0*s.* 9*d.*) is added to allow a sufficient profit; proceed therefore thus: brought forward . . .	159	4	6
Allowance instead of press-work	68	10	4½
A second set of plates half price, exclusive of alterations, over-running, &c.	68	10	4½
	£296	5	3

Example 2.

	£.	s.	d.			
Mr Wilson's bill for 126 pages of the Brevier Testament, August 31, 1805, casework and reading at 1*s.* 8*d.* and 5*d.* per page	13	2	6			
The double of this sum	£26	5	0			
Plates 1st set, 155 lbs. 9 oz. at 3*s.* 6*d.* per lb. the price of Brevier types . . .	27	4	6			
Allowance instead of press-work . . .	26	14	9			
A second set of plates	26	14	9	£106	19	0

Example 3.

	£.	s.	d.			
Mr Wilson's bill for the Welsh Test. May 7, 1806:						
Casework and reading 14 sheets at £5 . .	70	0	0			
The double of this	£140	0	0			
Alterations, over-running &c. £17. 4*s.*						
The double of this	34	8	0			
332 plates containing 428 lbs. 8 oz. at 3*s.* 6*d.* per lb. the price of the types . . .	74	2	3			
	£248	10	3			
Allowance instead of press-work . . .	107	1	1½			
A second set of plates	107	1	1½	462	12	6
				£865	16	9

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August 8, 1807. An agreement was entered into for the acquisition by the University of Wilson's stereotype secret, for which the following sums were to be paid:

£2000 on execution of the agreement.

£1000 advanced to Wilson, May 29, 1805, to become his property.

£1000 when the sales from March 25, 1807, shall exceed £4500: £2 for every £45 of such excess till it reaches £1000; but if that sum shall not be reached till March 25, 1818, no further payment to be made[1].

In 1811 a case was submitted by the University for the opinion of Sergt. Lens and Mr Leycester. It is stated that the Syndics consider the charge made by Wilson for stereotype plates was unreasonable, and that in agreeing to pay the amount of £865. 16*s*. 9*d*. they expected to get a corresponding advantage to themselves in supplying the plates of Ainsworth and Johnson on the same principle[2]. Wilson refused to send the types from which to set up these books till he was informed how many plates he would have for the sum. During the four years since the agreement was made, wages had largely increased, and counsel held that they were by the agreement bound by the prices of 1807. It is probable that the work was never done, but there is nothing to show how the arrangement with Wilson ended.

There is a hypothetical case, not dated, but placed among the papers of 1811 (33. 7. 28) of which the following is a copy:

Whether supposing A. B. to be acquainted with the secret mode of making stereotype plates, and supposing C. D. to know the mode now in general use, and whereas it is conceived that the secret is now no secret. Supposing A. B. to inquire of C. D. his (C. D's) mode of making the plates, and by his answers it appeared that he (C. D.) was acquainted with all the peculiarities of the secret, would A. B. be justified in telling C. D. that such was the secret?

38. John Smith.

John Smith was elected Nov. 11, 1809. On Nov. 2, 1836, a Grace was passed allowing him a pension of £200 a year

[1] Registry MS. 33. 7. 26.

[2] Registry MS. 33. 1. 27.

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(half his salary), after a long period of service as printer. He died at Thetford, Norfolk, August 16, 1840, and there is a tablet in St Botolph's Church, in which parish he was born Sept. 12, 1777.

From the St Botolph books it appears that Smith, as University Printer, was rated at £34 (Printing Office £22, and Warehouse £12) till April 16, 1827. For the following quarter, July 12, 1827, he is assessed at £45 for printing office and house. Oct. 7, 1830, there is in addition, old premises, £11, and this ceases July 11, 1831, being erased from the book after having been entered. Oct. 21, 1831, a new entry appears, University late A. Watford, £4. 10*s.*; Jan. 12, 1832, house and University Press, £45; but now it is placed in Mill Lane and Laundress Lane, instead of Silver Street; and there appears, in Trumpington Street, Univ. late Thos. Hill, £8; late Mrs Hill, £5; late Wm. Neal, £10; late John Glasscock, £8. 5*s.*; late James Nutter, £24; late Thos. Eddlestone, £7; late Wm. White, £10; late A. Watford, £9. 10*s.* July, 1832, Pitt Press sites of houses, £94. 5*s.*; Oct. 3, 1833, house, J. Smith, in Mill Lane, £10; in addition to printing office, £45, Silver Street, Univ. warehouse, £15; Univ. old office and house, £23. April 14, 1836, old office, £23, ceases. University Press property:

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Pitt Press, Trumpington Street . . .	94	5	0
University Warehouse (Silver Street) . .	15	0	0
John Smith's house, Mill Lane . . .	10	0	0
University Office and Warehouse . .	45	0	0

39. JOHN WILLIAM PARKER[1].

John William Parker was elected Nov. 15, 1836, and held office till 1854. But his connection with the Press dated from an earlier period. In the year 1828, the Press having been

[1] For much of the information respecting Parker I am indebted to an article in the *Bookseller*, June 1, 1870.

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found to be in an unsatisfactory condition, the Syndics consulted two eminent London printers—Mr Clowes and Mr Hansard—on the subject. At the request of the University that the former would come to Cambridge and examine the Press, he sent his overseer, Mr Parker; and in February, 1829, on Mr Clowes being appointed superintendent of the Press at a salary of £200 per annum, he accepted the office, performing his duties through Mr Parker. The latter was able very soon to justify the selection of the Syndics, and to make the Press a source of profit. One of the first things he did was to turn to account some of the old and apparently useless stereotype plates, and in this he was most successful. He was soon able greatly to increase the accounts with the Bible Society and with the Christian Knowledge Society, and in other ways opened up channels of trade for the disposal of University books. Upon the resignation of John Smith in 1836 he was appointed printer, with a salary of £400 a year, he visiting Cambridge for two days once a fortnight. After much opposition he succeeded in introducing steam power, but for many years the Bible Society resolutely set their faces against the purchase of books so printed. An amusing illustration is given in the *Bookseller*, June 1, 1870.

Some idea may be formed of the amount of reduction in prices of Bibles and Prayer-Books, during the time of Parker's management, from the Report of the University Commission of 1852:

	1830.		1850.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Price of Cheapest Bible . . .	2	5	1	10
„ Medium Bible . . .	7	2½	3	7½
„ Cheapest Prayer Book .	0	6½	0	2¾
„ Medium Prayer Book .	1	7¼	1	3

The Commissioners remark on this reduction in prices:

Much of this great reduction of price is attributable to improved machinery and to better arrangements in the establishment; much of it

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is more apparent than real, arising from the inferiority in paper and execution; the rest from a reduction of profits, which, in the case of the Cambridge Press, has not been compensated, as has been usual in similar cases, by a very great increase in production. On the contrary, the number of Bibles and Prayer-Books produced has rapidly diminished.

The Commissioners attribute these results partly to the "virtual abolition of the monopoly" by which the profits were reduced to the "ordinary commercial standard, and in some "respects even below it (for private subscriptions were brought "in aid of the production of cheap Bibles in Scotland)."

Parker, whose father had been in the Navy, was born about the year 1792; was apprenticed to Mr Clowes, and stayed with him till 1832, when he left to commence business as a publisher at 445, West Strand. He was appointed "publisher of "the books issued under the direction of the Committee of "General Literature and Education appointed by the Society "for Promoting Christian Knowledge." The publishing business soon became an important one, and Parker's catalogue ultimately contained the works of Whately, Whewell, Hare, Trench, Maurice, Kingsley, Froude, Helps, Miss Yonge, G. H. Lewes, Buckle, &c. &c.; and a large proportion of the educational books produced at Cambridge. In 1843 his son, John William Parker, jun., came into the business. On his death in 1860 Mr Parker took his old assistant, Mr William Butler Bourn, into partnership; but in 1863[1] the business was sold to Messrs Longmans, and the house of Parker, Son and Bourn ceased to exist. Mr Parker resigned his office of Printer in 1854 and died May 18, 1870, aged 78.

[1] *Fraser's Magazine* for October, 1863, was published by Parker, Son & Bourn: the number for November by Longman & Co.

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40. } CHARLES JOHN CLAY, M.A., Trinity.
41. } GEORGE SEELEY.
42. JOHN CLAY, M.A., St John's.

The Cambridge University Commissioners of 1850–52, in their Report, published in 1852, about two years before the resignation of John William Parker, gave it as their opinion that

> It is only by associating printers or publishers in some species of co-partnership with the University, or by leasing the Press to them, that any considerable return can hereafter be expected from the capital which has been invested in it.....we are satisfied that no Syndicate, however active and well chosen, can replace the intelligent and vigilant superintendence of those whose fortune in life is dependent upon its success. (Report, pp. 136-7).

This opinion was at variance with that of the Syndics of 1850, as given in the same volume (*Evidence*, p. 21). But very shortly after the issue of this Report it became necessary, on the resignation of Mr Parker, to appoint a new printer; and the Syndics, in their Report May 26, 1854, recommended a partnership with Mr George Seeley and Mr C. J. Clay. This recommendation was carried out in July. Mr Seeley retired in 1856; a new partnership was entered into with Mr Clay alone, and that continued until 1882, when Mr John Clay, son of Mr C. J. Clay, was also admitted as a partner.

In the Report of 1852 we find the following particulars:

> The office contains frames, fittings and appurtenances for 70 compositors; presses and appurtenances for 56 press-men; eight printing machines, which require about 50 men and boys to manage, work and supply them. A ten-horse steam-engine; two boilers; turning-lathe, forge and circular saw, occupying at present, four hands; one (steam-power) milling machine, hydraulic and screw hot-presses, at which, together, 100 men and boys might be employed if necessary.

The great increase in the prosperity of the Press, since the above was written, 32 years since, has entirely confirmed the opinion of the Commissioners as quoted above.

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It is curious to compare the present condition of the Press with that of 300 years ago, when by decree of the Star Chamber, in 1584, each of the Universities was limited to one press and one apprentice—at the most!

APPENDIX A (see pages 287, 289).

Early Cambridge Bindings.

It is on general grounds quite likely that binding as well as printing went on in John Siberch's shop under the sign of the *Arma Regia*, and that the bindings executed there should bear some identifying mark. The opportunities of examining bindings of that date are however few and far between; I can only refer to one specimen, and that has unfortunately been renovated, so that possibly some evidence has been destroyed.

There is in Lincoln Cathedral Library a volume (T. 4. 3) which contains, among other books belonging to the years 1516 to 1520, *Richardi Croci Britanni introductiones in Rudimenta græca.* 1520. 4°. It is printed, according to the colophon, "Coloniæ in ædibus Eucharii Cervicorni, anno a Christo nato M.D.XX. mense Maio expensis providi viri domini Joannis Lair de Siborch." But it must have been bound in England; for stamped on the leather are the several badges of the then king of England. The entire ornamentation is formed by three lengths of a roulette pattern side by side within a plain rectangle. The roulette consists of four compartments; the uppermost contains a crowned pomegranate, the next a crowned portcullis, the third a crowned rose, and the lowest a crown over three fleurs-de-lys, with the initials J. S. at the foot, on either side of the lowest fleur-de-lys.

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Ames (*Typographical Antiquities*, p. 456) noticed the name Johannes lair de Siborch in this book, and considered the type similar to that used by Siberch at Cambridge. The binding of this copy seems to afford an additional argument for considering the two varying appellations to belong to one and the same person.

[There are also specimens of binding, in Cambridge libraries and elsewhere, which Mr Bradshaw has for some time supposed to be the work of one or other of the stationers appointed in 1534. Books tooled with a rather large roulette pattern containing fabulous animals and the initials G. G. may be referred with great probability to Garrett Godfray; and in the case of Nicholas Speryng the identification seems almost certain. There exist many octavo volumes in stamped calf, having on the obverse[1] cover the Annunciation with a 4-mark and the initials N. S. at the foot, all surrounded by the text ECCE ANCILLA DOMINI FIAT MICHI SECUNDUM VERBUM TUUM, and on the reverse cover (above the same mark and initials) St Nicholas and the three children, with the legend NICOLAUS SPIERNICK at top and bottom, and a scroll with acorns and cockatrices (?) at the sides. As a specimen may be named a Sarum Missal (Paris, Hopyl for Birckman, 1515, 8°) in the Bodleian (Gough 2); and a pair of covers are among the spoils of the Douce Collection. A book from Hengwrt (now in my possession) similarly bound was printed at Paris in 1508. It would be interesting to obtain a list of all such books that are now in existence. J.]

[1] It seems convenient to borrow these terms from the language of numismatics, denoting by *obverse* the front cover, and by *reverse* the other.

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APPENDIX B (see page 297).

Extract from the accounts of Dr Mawe, V. C., illustrating the dispute between the University and the Stationers:

Univ. Accounts 1621—22. fol. 261 b.

	£.	s.	d.
Item payed to M^r^ Tabor for a iourney to London w^th^ Cantrell Legg about the printinge businesse when he was sent for by y^e^ Bp. of Exeter	6	18	4
Item layed out by M^r^ Tabor when the Vice Chancellor, D^r^ Warde, D^r^ Beale, and Legg went to Royston to deliuer a Letter, and Petition to the King in y^e^ behalf of y^e^ Vniuersitye	5	9	6

fol. 262.

Item for a iourney to London Januar. 3 when I went to finish my own businesse, w^ch^ I left vnfinished before Christmas, being hastened home to stopp the stationers procedinge by Petition to the King at Royston	7	1	3

fol. 262 b.

Item spent in a iourney to London by my selfe, M^r^ Tabor, and Cantrell Legg when the cause was to be heard, between the stationers of London and the Vniuersity Printer by the fowre Committies appointed by the King ut patet per diversas billas 28 dayes	33	5	11
Item spent at Newmarket when I went to procure the Kinges leave to sell the Grammars vpon the L^ds^ certificate	0	11	4
Item given to the M^r^ of request to drawe vp the Kinges order for the sellinge of Grammars	5	0	0

1622—23. fol. 267 b.

Item to M^r^ Tabor for expenses at London when hee went vpp with Cantrell Legg beinge sent for by Warrant from the Counsayle there attendinge with him 9 dayes	13	14	0

APPENDIX C (see page 296).

I. In *A note of all such persons as are privileged by the University of Cambridge and dwelling within the Town of Cambridge*, written between June 5, 1592 (the date of John Palmer's appointment as Archdeacon of Ely) and 1594 (when Duckett was appointed University Librarian in place of John

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Matthew so described in the list), the names of the following stationers are given:

	Assessed at
Mr Watson	ii s
Mr Legate	xii d
John Porter	viii d
Hughe Burwell	vi d
Manasses Vautrolier	vi d
John Joanes	iiii d
Beniamin Prime	ii d
William Scarlett	ii d
Jo. Cuthbert	viii d
Thomas Bradshawe	viii d

The list, consisting of one sheet (4 pages) folio, is in the Library of Downing College (Bowtell MSS.).

II. It seems desirable to add here for comparison the names of stationers which appear in another list of *The privileged persons in the University of Cambridge which are recorded in the Register's Office*, dated during the year 1624.

Thomas Mooden [Morden].
Anthony Harrison.
Leonard Greene.
William Williams.
Phillip Scarlett
Peter Scarlett.
Henry Wray.
Simon Robuck.
Richard Ewlam.
Edmund Porter.
Jonathan Pinder.
Samuel Disher.
John Jones.
Daniel Boyse.
Richard Ireland.

besides

Cantrell Legg, Printer.

The list, consisting of two sheets (8 pages) folio, is in the Library of Downing College (Bowtell MSS.).

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APPENDIX D.

Ornaments, Initial Letters and Devices.

It is often convenient, in examining the works of a particular printer, to be able to refer to specimens of the ornaments, &c. which he used to embellish his books. I have accordingly made a collection of some of those which occur in Cambridge-printed books, more complete in the case of the earlier printers, but, as far as I could make it, fairly representative of the whole series.

The books from which the illustrations are taken are as follows:

Augustini *de miseria vitae.* 1521. 4°. Nos. 4, 5.
Galeni *de temperamentis.* 1521. 4°. Nos. 1, 2, 8—13.
Papyrii Gemini Eleatis *Hermathena.* 1522. 4°. Nos. 3, 6, 7.
P. Rami *Dialecticae libri duo.* 1584. 8°. No. 28.
P. Ovidii Nasonis fabularum interpretatio. 1584. 8°. Nos. 17, 19, 21, 22.
Jac. Martini *de prima simplicium et concretorum corporum generatione.* 1584. 8°. No. 18.
Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith. 1586. 8°. No. 15.
Whitaker, *Disputatio de sacra Scriptura.* 1588. 4°. Nos. 20, 24, 25, 27.
[1]De l'Espine, *A very excellent discourse*, etc. 1592. 4°. Nos. 14, 16, 23, 26, 34.
Whitaker *adversus T. Stapletoni defensionem.* 1594. F°. Nos. 29, 31, 32.
Perkins *on the Creed.* 1596. 4°. No. 33.
Perkins, *A Reformed Catholick.* 1598 8°. No. 30.
Heydon, *Defence of Judiciall Astrologie.* 1603. 4°. No. 35.
Epicedium Cantabrigiense. 1612. 4°. Nos. 36, 37.
Davenant, *Expositio epistolae...in Colossenses.* 1630. F°. Nos. 44—47.
Novum Testamentum. 1632. 8°. Nos. 40—42.
Dalechamp, *Christian Hospitalitie.* 1632. 4°. No. 39.
Hausted, *Senile Odium.* 1633. 8°. No. 38, 43.
Garthwaite, *Evangelicall Harmonie.* 1634. 4°. Nos. 48, 49.
Bible. 1638. F°. Nos. 50, 51, 54.

[1] Some of the figures were used by more than one printer; in these cases, from whatever book they may have been taken, they are arranged among those of the printer who is observed to have first used them.

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Book of Common Prayer. 1638. F°. Nos. 52, 53, 55—61.
Dury, *Summary Discourse.* 1641. 4°. No. 62.
Fern, *Resolving of Conscience.* 1642. 4°. No 63.
His Majesties Declaration, etc. Aug. 12. 1642. 4°. Nos. 64, 65.
Hall's *Poems.* 1646. 8°. No. 86.
Love, *Oratio*, etc. 1660. 4°. Nos. 67, 69.
Kemp, *Sermon*, etc. 1668. 4°. No. 68.
University Queries. 1659 (no printer's name). 4°. No. 70.
Kidd, *Ichabod.* 1663 (no printer's name). 4°. No. 71.
Crashaw, *Poemata.* 1670. 8°. No. 72.
Saywell, *Reformation in England.* 1688. 4°. No. 73.
Barnes, *Edward III.* 1688. F°. No. 74.
Cellarius, *Notitia Orbis Antiquae*, Vol. I. 1703. 4°. Nos. 75, 76, 77.
Bentley's Horace. 1711. 4°. No. 78.
Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica.* 3 vols. 1720. F°. Nos. 80, 87.
Middleton, *Bibliotheca Cantabrigiensis.* 1723. 4°. No. 81.
Parne, *Sermon*, etc. 1724. 4°. Nos. 85, 86.
Drake, *Concio*, etc. 1724. 4°. No. 83.
Kerrich, *Sermon*, etc. 1735. 8°. No. 84.
Middleton, *Dissertation on Printing.* 1735. 4°. Nos. 79, 88.
A Collection of Poems. 1733. 8°. Nos. 89—92.
Saunderson's *Algebra.* 1740. 4°. No. 82.
[*Book of Common Prayer.* 1745. F°. See No. 99.]
Gratulatio Acad. Cantabrigiensis. 1748. F°. No. 97.
Mason's *Odes.* 1756. 4°. No. 93.
Advice to a Young Student. 1760 (no printer's name). 8°. Nos. 94, 95.
Gratulatio Acad. Cantabrigiensis. 1761. F°. No. 96.
Love's Elegies. 1776. 4°. No. 98.

So far the illustrations have been taken in facsimile from the books named. The remainder (Nos. 99—107) are printed from original woodcuts belonging to the University Press, and kindly lent by Messrs C. J. Clay and Son. The books given below are the earliest in which I have noticed the devices severally named with them.

Book of Common Prayer. 1745. F°. No. 99.
Altar Service. 1814. 4°. No. 100.
Cambridge University Calendar. 1828. 12°. No. 101.
Prolusiones Acad. 1830. 8°. No. 102.
Bible. 1830. Royal 8°. No. 103.
Cambridge Astronomical Observations. 1833. 4°. No. 104.
Irenaeus, Harvey. 1857. 8°. No. 105.
Prayer-Book. 1863. Royal 4°. No. 106.
Pearson *On the Creed.* 1869. 8°. No. 107.

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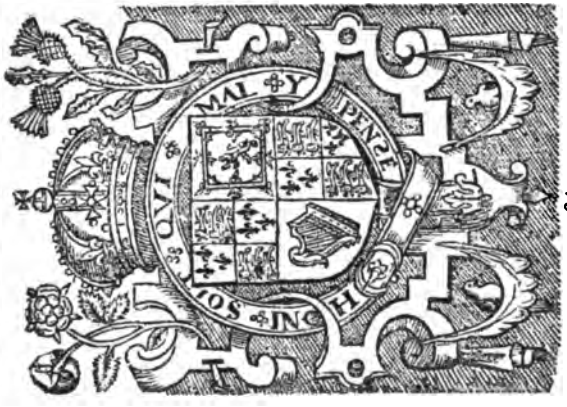

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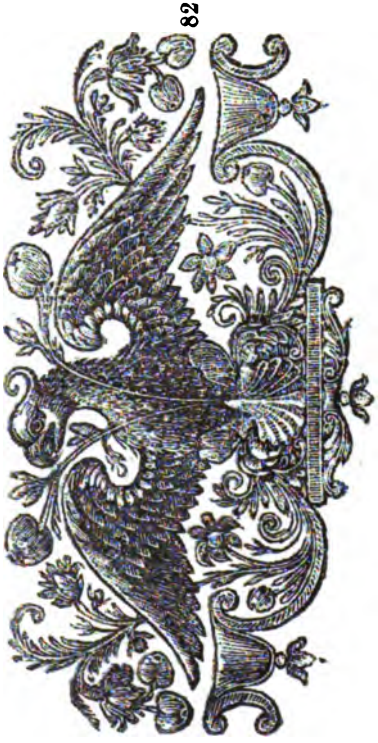

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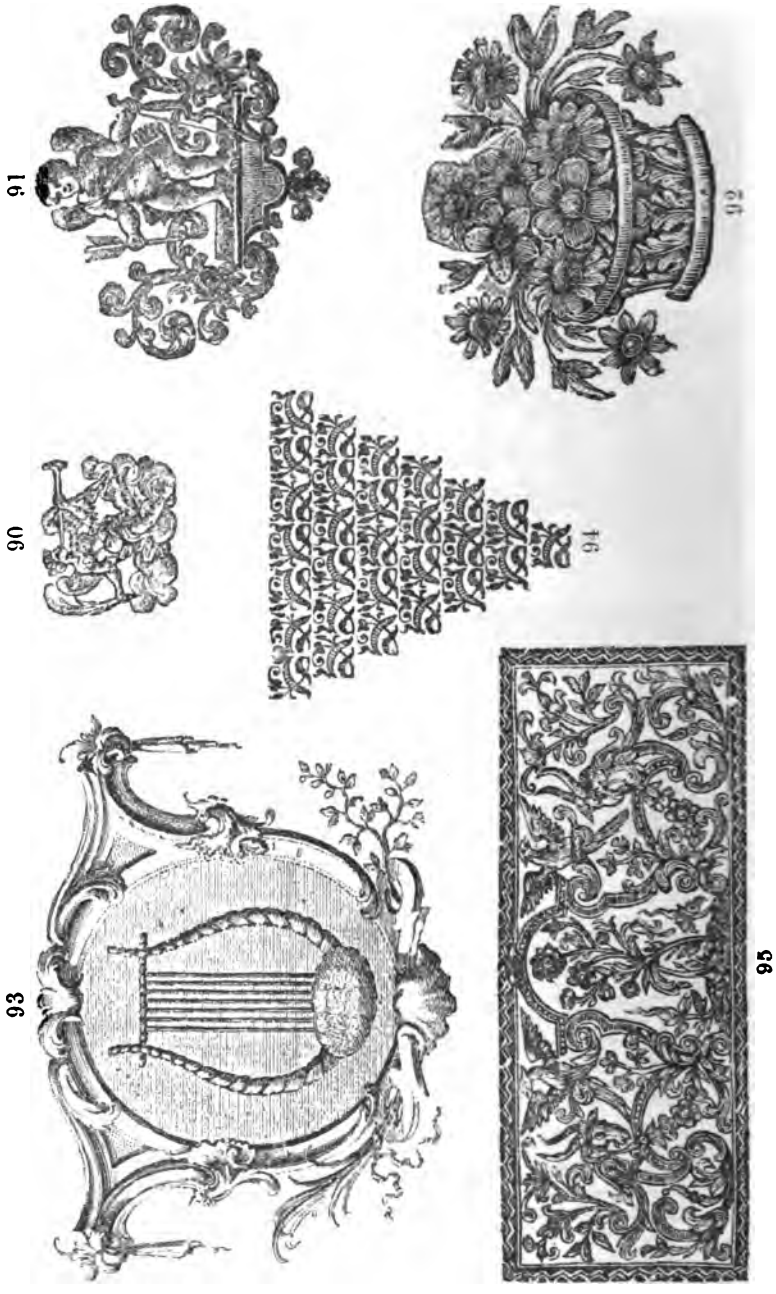

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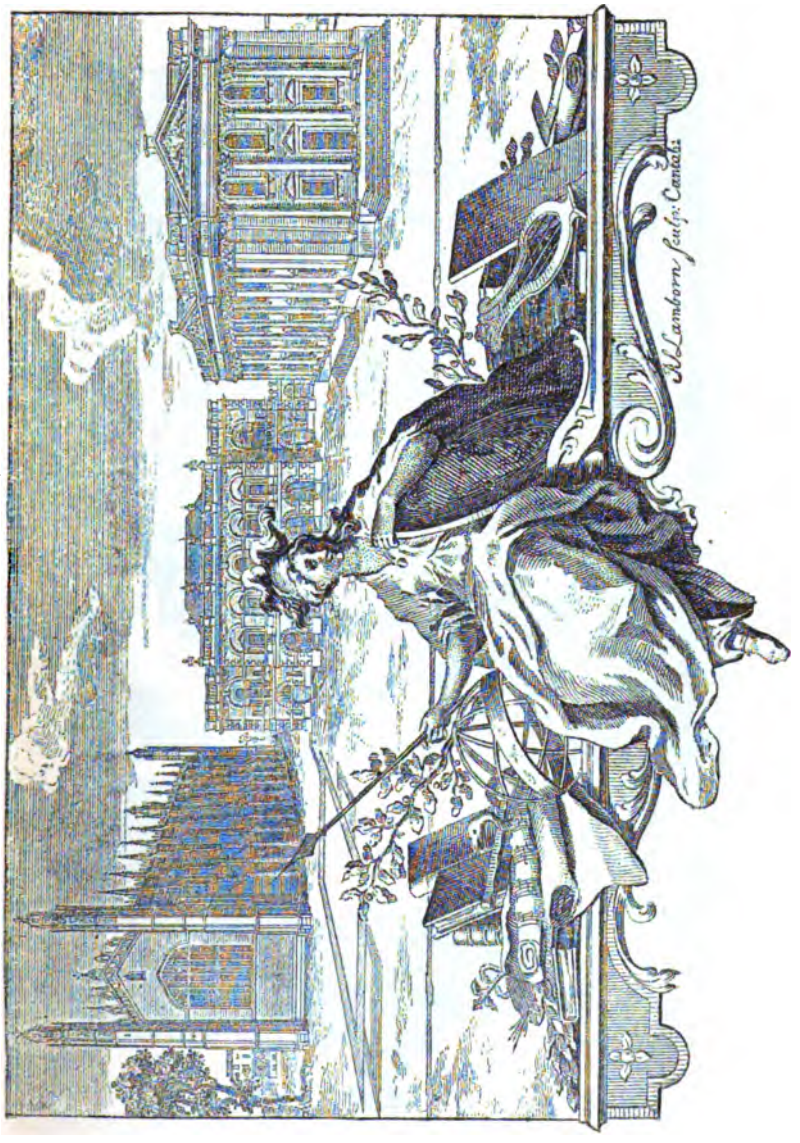

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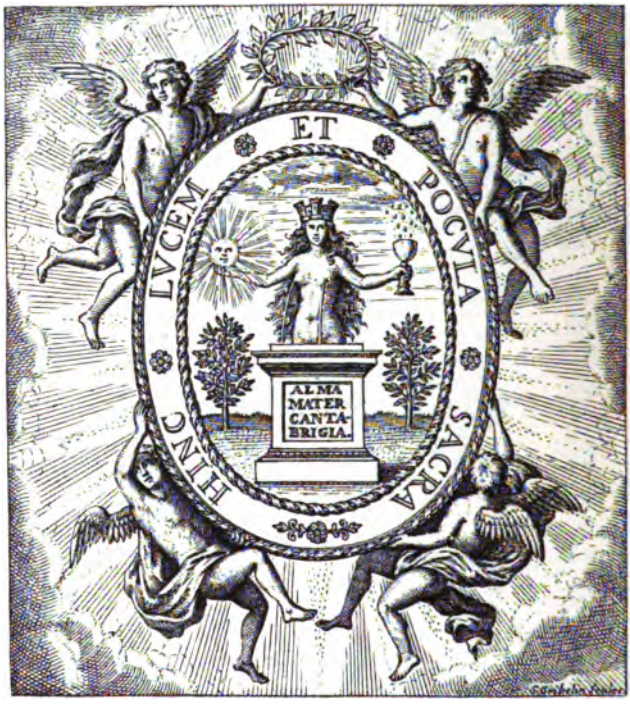

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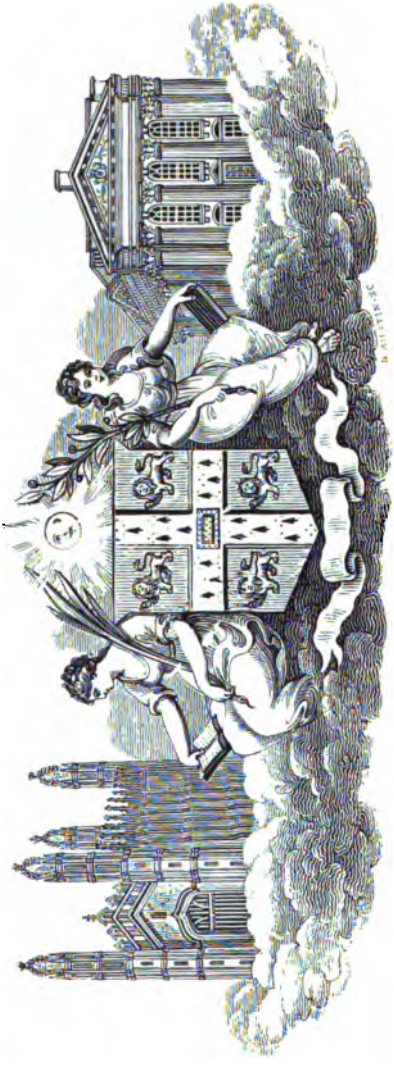

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XXI. On the Signet of Eros. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[March 3, 1884.]

Fig. 1. Victory, standing, in the act of reading from an open scroll held in both hands, as if proclaiming some great success in war. In the field to the left (?) the club of Hercules, placed vertically: on the other side, the name of the owner, Eros, similarly arranged in a straight line. Intaglio in the later Greek style, on brown sard.

This elegant device offers many points for consideration, which taken together appear to me to invest the signet with much historical, not to say romantic, interest. Before the question of original ownership can rationally be discussed, it is necessary to determine with such accuracy as is attainable the date of the work.

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The style of the engraving is in itself so pure, that it would at once be pronounced *Greek* of the Lysippean school, were it not for the signature in Latin characters; which does not betray (as is often the case) any sign of being the interpolation of some later possessor. To me, this inscription is the most trustworthy criterion of the times to which the engraving ought to be assigned: for both in the form of the letters, and still more in the manner of their disposition on the field, it exactly coincides with the fashion in such things (as the coins attest) that prevailed during the last century of the Roman Republic; but neither previously, nor subsequently to that same period.

A clue of like nature as to its date is offered by the fact that we have here a *Greek* name written in Latin characters; which betokens a time when Greek was as yet a "language not understanded of the people in general"—the very time when Q. Cicero, blockaded in his camp by the Eburones, wrote his despatches to Cæsar in Greek letters (though not in the Greek tongue), in order that they should not be read, if intercepted by the enemy, that is, by the Roman deserters in their camp. Under the Empire, on the contrary, when a smattering of Greek was as universal an accomplishment as that of French is amongst ourselves, all Grecian names were inscribed on signets in their proper characters; and persons pretending to superior refinement even went so far as to Grecise their Latin patronymics.

These considerations alone, even though unsupported by other internal evidence, would furnish reasonable grounds for supposing our Eros a contemporary of Julius Cæsar. But in this particular, the *person* himself would be of no greater interest to us than any other one of the thousands of his day that had sufficient taste to imagine a pretty seal-device, and sufficient money to pay a skilful artist to embody it in a gem. But upon further examination of the details, a symbol obtrudes itself on our notice which reveals perhaps (if I have not in-

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terpreted it by too lively an exercise of the imagination) the whole history of the man. This key to the problem is the *Club of Hercules*, so conspicuously set up in the middle of the design, to the actual detriment of its beauty; a thing evidently done, because the fact which its presence announced to the recipients of the impression was of an importance that far outweighed all considerations of art: the social position of the sealer was made known to all the world by the view of this prominent badge of his *clientela*.

Our next step, therefore, in this inquiry is to hunt out in the series of Consular coins what noble family claims such a badge for its own; and the *gens Antonia* offers itself at the very opening of the search. Plutarch records that the most celebrated of the family, the amorous Triumvir, was mightily proud of his traditional descent from *Anthon*, a son of Hercules, in honour of whom he named his first-born *Anthyllus*, and affected to copy his divine progenitor in his bearing and his costume, as much as he resembled the statues of him in his manly countenance. Heaven itself seems to endorse his claim to relationship, for, conspicuously amongst the omens of his approaching downfall, the statue of Anthon, standing at Alba Longa, burst into a profuse sweat that could not be dried by wiping: the Temple of Heracles at Corinth was struck by lightning; and his colossus at Athens carried from its basis by a mighty whirlwind. To publish to the world so respectable a genealogy, the Triumvir puts on a bronze coin the bust of Hercules, or more probably Anthon (for the features are undeniably those of Antony), carrying the Club on his shoulder[1]: and in order to symbolize the closeness of his union with Octavius during the short-lived second Triumvirate the same Herculean weapon forms the sole type on the obverse of a

[1] The *reverse* conveys a most extravagant compliment to Antony, for it reads L. A ΡΩΜΗΣ, typifying the new birth of Rome under his auspices.

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denarius (fig. 2) of his youthful colleague, which had been minted by their joint authority.

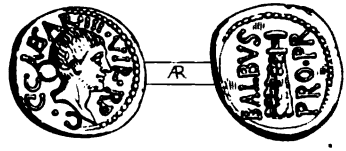

FIG. 2. Denarius of Octavius.

Who then was this Eros, that he should in this elegant pictorial way have placed himself under the patronage of the family Antonia? That he was of servile condition is at once manifested by his *name*, containing a presage of future love and favouritism, like so many others of the class (Cestus, Earinus, Narcissus, Phlegon, Tryphon), and hinting that he was intended, at his outset in life, to gain the good graces of his master by his personal charms (*flore corporis*), as the fashion then was; and by successive stages to grow up from the "deliciae domini" into the respectability and influence of a trusted *libertus*.

To such an Eros, faithful unto death, did the despairing Antony turn for the last medicine of his woes; and when that faithful freedman evaded the obligation of his oath by plunging the sword into his own heart, he exclaimed, "Nobly done, my Eros! thy love would not suffer thee to see thy master die, but thy example has taught him what he ought to do."

It is not often that one of these minute relics of antiquity comes before us, for the connexion of which with any historical event or personage so many plausible (if not convincing) arguments can be found as in the present instance. The times to which the work belongs are indicated by its workmanship and by the peculiarity of the legend: the introduction of the family cognizance indubitably declares its connexion with the family of Antony: whilst the name of the owner agrees with that of a person known to have had the right of assuming such a badge of dependency. And after all, in a case like this, where

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demonstration is impossible, imagination may be allowed a little scope in strengthening the arguments that aim at establishing the reality of so interesting a monument.

This gem turned up at a miscellaneous sale in Town in the spring of 1883, where it was bought on the commission of Mr Lewis, who like Horace's

> "Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos,
> Per mare pauperiem fugiens [quaerens?], per saxa, per ignes"

in his chase of these fascinating butterflies of the flowery meads of archæology!

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INDEX TO VOLUME V.

A.

Aachen, the Minster-Church at, 131—161
Abraxas associated with Cnuphis on a gem, 89
Acres in Domesday, size of, 113—115
Africa, South, the stone implements of, 57—74
Agathodæmon, 81
Almanacks, differences between the Stationers and the University Printer as to the right of printing, 297
— profits arising from farming them (1765), 320
Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Barrington, 5—32
Antioch, how marked on the Tabula Peutingeriana, 239
Antony, his descent from Hercules, 365
— his freedman Eros, 366
Aphrodite holding a mirror, Egyptian bronze statue of, figured, 200
Apollo, anecdote relating to the burning of his temple at Antioch, 281
Archaeological Journal, correction of an error in the, 281 *note*
Archdeacon, John, appointed Inspector of the Press (1766), 319
— appointed University Printer (1768—1795), 319
— poverty of his types lamented by Rev. W. Ludlam, 320—321
Asgill, John, alluded to by Du Soul, 176
'Augustine Friars', inhabited by Thomas Buck, 302, 303
Augustus, Fortunae Antiates on a denarius of, figured, 277
Aurelius, Marcus, unpublished coin of Nicaea, with figure of Homer, 45
Aurelius, Marcus, and Faustina as Agathodaemones, figured, 83

B.

Bacchus on a mirror-case, figured, 187
Baker, Thomas, note by him on John Siberch, 288
Barrington, Anglo-Saxon cemetery at, 5—32
Baskerville, John, of Birmingham, 317
— appointed University Printer (1758), 317

Digitized by Google

Baskerville, John, his letters to the Vice-Chancellor, 318
— his letters to Horace Walpole (1762), 319
Bedell, William, his Latin version of Pietro Sarpi's *History*, 299
Bells at Aachen, 153
Bennet, Rev. E. K., Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-book, 201—223
Bentham, Joseph, appointed Inspector of the Press (1740), 313
— appointed University Printer (1740) 316
— Baskett v. Bentham (1742—1758), 316
Bentley, Thomas, his work on MSS. of Plutarch, 170
Bibles and Prayerbooks, prices of, in 1830 and 1852, 330
— (1730), Grace relating to the printing of, 311, 315
Book-binding at Cambridge in the 16th century, specimens of, 333
Bovates, 117
Bowes, Robert, notes on the University Printers, 283—362
Bowyer, [W.], correspondence about undertaking the management of the University Press (1765), 320
Bray, Raynold, executes the stone plinth for the Lady Margaret's tomb, 270
Britain, its topography illustrated by the Tabula Peutingeriana, 251—264
Brocke, mercer in Cheapside, 212
Brooke, Thomas, University Stationer, 298
Brundisium, manufacture of mirrors at, 194
Bryan, Augustine, 169
Buck, Francis, University Printer, 304
Buck, John, University Printer, 304
Buck, Thomas, University Printer, 300 sq.
— his partnership with Leonard Greene, 300
— his partnership with John Buck, 301
— his partnership with Roger Daniel, 301
— dates of his degrees, &c., 303
Burges, John, appointed University Printer (1793), 321
Bushmen, traces of, 72
Buxton, Robert, of Channonz, 203, 213 *note*

C.

Caerleon, cameo found at, 233—235
Cambridge stationers circa 1592—4, list of, 335, 336
— in 1624, list of, 336
Cambridgeshire, explanation of the omission of certain parishes in Domesday, 105 *note*
— minuteness of Domesday survey in, 94
Caruca and Terra ad Carucam, 107—112
Carucata, how used as another name for Hide, 107
— use of the word by Fleta, 111
Cave, William, mentioned by Du Soul, 176
Cellini's account of stamping medals, 35
Celtic mirror, found at Trehan Bahou, 198
Charles the Great at Aachen, 133—136
— his tomb, 136—139
— criticism of the account of his burial, 137

Digitized by Google

Chersonites, earthen defences of the, 55
Chesterford, a late Roman station, 260
Chorus, Gerhard, builder of the Choir at Aachen, 144
Christian emblems on coins and gems, 1, 75—91
CLARK, J. W., Note on the tomb of the Lady Margaret, 265—271
Claudius, gold coin of, rev. PACI AVGVSTAE, figured, 276
Clay, Charles John, M.A., University Printer (1854—), 332
Clay, John, M.A., University Printer (1882—), 332
Club of Hercules, used as a badge by Antony, 365
Cnuphis on a gem, figured, 87, 88
Coin-die of Claudius, made of copper, 39
Coins, Roman, found at Willingham, 225—231
— in Saxon graves, 12
Constantine II., coin of, figured, 89
Constantinople, how marked on the Tabula Peutingeriana, 240
Corona at Aachen, 152
Crakenthorpe, Richard, *De Providentia Dei*, 299
Cross, its use as a symbol on coins and gems, 76—81
Crownfield, Cornelius, connected with the University Press in 1698, 311, 312
— his salary as inspector of the Press, 312
— appointed University Printer, 311
— a bookseller on his own account, 312
Curators of the Press, their appointment (1698), 311
— their minute-book, 312, 316

D.

Daniel, Roger, University Printer, 304, 301
— summoned to London for printing *His Majesties Answer*, &c., 305
— summoned to London for printing Fern's *Resolving of Conscience*, &c., 305
— his patent cancelled for neglect, 305
Dante, mention of mirrors in his works, 195
Deighton, John, University Printer (1802), 322
— site of his shop, 322
Didius Julianus consults a mirror, 199
Domesday-book, on its measurements and valuations in Cambridgeshire, 93—129
"Dormitory of King Philip of Swabia" at Aachen, 158—160
Dragon or serpent as a Christian emblem, 81—91
Dragon, Chinese, derived from crocodile, 86

E.

Earthen rampart at Perekop, 47—65
Eginhard the historian (770—844), 165
Ermine Street a late road, 259
Eros, freedman of Antony, note on a signet probably once belonging to him, 363—367
Estwick, Mr, tutor at Cambridge (1614) of Robert Wilton, 215
Etruscan mirrors with engraved reverses, 185—200
Eucratidas, twenty-stater piece of, 36

Digitized by Google

F.

Faustina the elder, medallion of, figured, 40
Fenner, William and Mrs, print Prayer-books for the University (1730), 315
Fern, Henry, D.D., his book *The Resolving of Conscience*, &c., 305
Field, John, University Printer, 307
— attacked for printing Republican books, 307
— builds a new printing-office in Silver Street, 308
Filigree work in silver, Saxon, 32 (and plate VIII.)
Fletcher, Phineas, his *Locustae vel Pietas Jesuitica*, 301
Fortuna Nemesis, on a silver statuette of, 273—282
Fortunae Antiates on a denarius of Augustus, figured, 277
Foster, Walter K., on the excavation of a Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire, 5—32
Frederic I., corona at Aachen given by, 152

G.

Galla Placidia, gold coin of, figured, 81
Gallienus, unique denarius of, figured, 78
— his vanity, 79
Gambling, 180
Ged, William, invents method of stereotype printing (1725), 315
Gems, on early Christian, 1, 75—91
Godfrey, Garrett, University Stationer in 1534, 289
— Churchwarden of St Mary's, 290
— bindings attributed to him, 334
Grammars, Lilly's, printed by Cantrell Legge, 297
— disputes in consequence with the Stationers, 297
— extract from University Accounts relating to these disputes, 335
Gravels, implement-bearing, in South Africa, their great antiquity, 60
Greek language, reasons for neglect of, at the beginning of the 18th century, 169
Greek letters, date of introduction at Rome, 364
Greene, Leonard, University Stationer, 298
— a member of the Stationers' Company, 298
— differences with his partner, Thomas Buck, 299
Griffith, A. F., Mr Rickard's notes on South African stone implements communicated by, 57—74.

H.

Hayes, John, University Printer, 308 sq.
Henry II. of Bavaria, pulpit at Aachen given by, 150
Hercules and Pegasus on mirrors, figured, 190, 192
Heron, John, merchant of Godmanchester, 213 *note*
Hidation, 118—120
Hides and their size, various views as to, 97
— probable explanation, 103
Hide or Terra ad Carucam from 80 to 120 acres, 108—110.

Digitized by Google

Holdsworth, Richard, Vice-Chancellor, summoned to London, 305,
Homer, bronze statue of, at Constantinople, 42
— portrait of, on a coin of Nicaea, 41, do. figured, 45
Horning, Mrs, of Roydon, 210
Household expenditure in 1611, 208
Hydra on a coin of Maximian, figured, 90

I.

Implements, stone, from South Africa, 57—74
— neolithic, in South Africa, difficulty of determining their age, 67
Inscriptions on Etruscan mirrors, invariable character of, 191
Insects surviving decapitation, 180
Irson, Thomas, conjuror, mentioned by Du Soul, 177
Isis, represented on a sard, figured, 277
Isotta da Rimini, steel mirror made for, 196

J.

Jackson, James, University Printer, 310
Jade, talisman of, 88
James I., his Epitaph upon the Queen, 222
James, Thomas and John, print Prayer-books for the University (1730), 315
Jaye, keeps a school at Bungay, 210
Jenkes, H., University Printer, 310
Jenkinson, F., on a hoard of coins at Willingham, 225—231
John of St James's Cloister at Liege, paintings by, at Aachen, 153
Judgment of Paris, the, on a mirror, figured, 192
Jupiter Dodonaeus, on a cameo representing, 183

K.

King, C. W., on two remarkable engraved Gems of early Christian work, 1
— "Stampare a conio"; how did the Romans strike their Medallions? 33
— on two unpublished Christian gem-types, 75
— on a cameo representing Jupiter Dodonaeus, 183
— on some bronze Etruscan mirrors, 185
— on an onyx cameo of Marcia as Omphale, 233
— on a silver statuette of Fortuna Nemesis, 273
— on the signet of Eros, 363
Kingston, John, appointed University Stationer in 1577, 291

L.

Ladies-maids, male, introduced by Christina of Sweden, 179
Laelianus, coin of, found at Willingham, 229
Lamp, ancient bronze, found at Syracuse, figured, 85
Laughton, [John], of Trinity College, 'Academiae architypographus',

Digitized by Google

one of the first Curators of the Press, 311
Laughton, [John], mentioned by Du Soul, 176
Legate, John, succeeds Thomas as University Printer, 294
— was the first who used the 'Alma Mater' device, 294
— a member of the Stationers' Company, 295
— did not print at Cambridge after 1609, 294
Legate, John, the younger, University Printer, 306
Legge, Cantrell, University Printer, 296
— a member of the Stationers' Company, 297
— his difficulties with the Stationers, 297, 335
Lewis, Rev. S. S., on the portrait of Homer upon an unpublished coin of Nicaea in Bithynia, 41—46
Lloyd, William, mentioned by Du Soul, 177
London not marked in the Tabula Peutingeriana, 256
Louis the Pious builder of the Salvators-Kirche at Aachen, 164
Lucian, specimen of edition by Du Soul, printed at Cambridge in 1708, 174
Lucrezia Borgia, mirror ascribed to, 196
Ludlam, Rev. William, of St John's College, letter quoted, 320—321

M.

Maps at Rome, 241
Marcia as Omphale on a cameo, 233—235
Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, note on her tomb, 265—271
Marius, coin of, found at Willingham, 229
Martin, Hugh, University Printer, 310
Maximian, coin of, figured, 90
Mayor, Rev. John E. B., on Moïse du Soul (Moses Solanus), 167—182
Mead, Richard, mentioned by Du Soul, 176
Medallions, Roman, manner of striking, 33
— Roman, object for which they were issued, 38
— Cellini's account of method of striking, 35
Minster-church at Aachen, Note on the, 131—166
— view (about 1630), *facing* p. 136
— restoration by Herr Rhoen, *facing* p. 137
— ground plan, *facing* p. 152
— longitudinal section, *facing* p. 153
Mirror, Celtic, found at Trehan Bahou, 198
Mirrors, On Etruscan, with engraved reverses, 185—200
— materials used for making, 194—196
— rarity of their occurrence among Romano-British remains, 197
— Chinese, 199
— magic, 199
Mirror-case made of a coin of Nero, 198, *note*
Mirror-cases, Greek, 187
Modius, emblem of abundance, 278
Moïse du Soul, Note on, 167—181
Monogram of XP on Greek medallion of Trajan Decius not Christian, 80

Digitized by Google

N.

Nicholson, Segar, University Stationer in 1534, 289
Noke, Richard, appointed University Stationer in 1540, 291
Norman holdings compared with the Saxon holdings which composed them, 116

O.

Octavius, denarius with club on reverse, figured, 366
Oil-press (*trapes*) from a painting at Herculaneum, 37
Omphale in the spoils of Hercules, 233—235
Opossum at Cambridge in 1700, 167
Ornaments, &c. used by Cambridge Printers, figured, 337—362
Owen, John, of Oxford, stationer, his dealings with the University Press, 312
— becomes insolvent, 313

P.

Parish books, extracts relating to University printers, 289—329 *passim*
Parker, John William, appointed University Printer (1836), 329
— previously sent by Mr Clowes to report on the unsatisfactory condition of the Press (1828), 330
— manages the Press as Mr Clowes's deputy (1829), 330
Pearson, Rev. J. B., on the earthen rampart at Perekop, at the entrance to the Crimea, 47—56
Peck, John, University Printer, 309
Perekop, earthen rampart at, 47—56
Pescennius Niger, denarius, reading AETERNITAS, 278
Philip of Swabia, his 'Dormitory' at Aachen, 158—160
Pilgrim, Nicholas, appointed University Stationer in 1539, 291
Pindar, Jonathan, University Printer (1686), 310
— various entries relating to him, 310 *note*
Pindar, Jonathan, University Printer (1697), 311
Pits of uncertain character among Saxon graves, 8
Pocket statuettes of various deities, 280
Population of Cambridgeshire, 125
Porter, John, University Stationer, 296
Press, University, its site, 300, 301, 308, 309, 314, 329
— its difficulties with London Stationers, 292, 297, 316 (*bis*)
— appointment of Curators (1698), 311
— type procured from Rotterdam (1698), 312
Prideaux, Humphrey, mentioned by Du Soul, 177
Printers, University, Biographical notes on, 283—362
— chronological list of, 285
Probus, bronze medallion figured, 33
Prudentius, explanation of a passage from, 87
Pulpit at Aachen, 150

R.

Rawleigh, Sir Walter, his verses before his execution, 221
Reade, R. C., on the Minster-Church at Aachen, 131—166

Digitized by Google

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, his 'court-house' at Aachen, 164
Richards, widow, keeps a school at Hempnall, 210
RICKARD, Mr J. C., notes on South African stone implements, 57—74
Ring made of the nails of a cross used as a charm, 179
Roman coins found at Willingham, 225—232
— Britain, as shown in the Tabula Peutingeriana, 251—264
— medallions, 30—40
— roads in Britain, 254—264
Rotterdam, type procured thence for the University Press (1698), 312
Rustius, denarius struck by, figured, 277

S.

Sadeel's *Disputationes*, the first book known to have been completed at the University Press, 293
St Sepulchre's Church at Cambridge compared with the Minster Church at Aachen, 146
Salonina, her coin reading AVGVSTA IN PACE, 80
Sand-glass, used in pulpits, 178
Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, 5—32
Saxon and Norman holdings, relative enumeration of contents, 116
Scot, John, his 'Foundation of the University of Cambridge' quoted, 298
Secunda, signet of, 76
Segar, or Seager, see Nicholson
Sequentia de S. Carolo imperatore, 163
Serpent, human-headed, on coins and gems, 81—91
Sheres, Peter, appointed University Stationer in 1546, 291
Sherlock, William, mentioned by Du Soul, 176
Siberch, John, the first Cambridge printer, 286
— binding attributed to him, 333
Smith, John, appointed University Printer (1809), 328
— pensioned (1836), 328
Solanus, Moses, Note on, 167—181
Speryng, Nicholas, University Stationer in 1534, 289
— bindings attributed to him, 334
— Churchwarden of St Mary's, 290
Spierinck, Nicholas, see Speryng
Stampare a conio, 33
Stationers, London, attempt to curtail the printing privileges of the University, 292, 297, 316
Stephanus, praise of his printing, 293
Stereotype printing, invented by William Ged (1725), 315
— first executed (for the University) by Fenner and James (1730), 315
— invented independently (?) by Earl Stanhope (c. 1800), 325
— employed (for the University) by Andrew Wilson (1804), 325 sqq.
Sulla's pocket statuette of Apollo, 280
Swiss porters, 179
Sygar, *see* Nicholson
Symondeson, Cornelys, executes the iron-work for the Lady Margaret's tomb, 268
Sympson, Cornelys, *see* Symondeson

T.

Tabula Peutingeriana, On the, 237—264
— indications of its date, 237—251

Digitized by Google

Tabula Peutingeriana, transcribed by a Rhinelander, 238
— transcribed by a Christian, 240
— the original wrongly attributed to the reign of Theodosius, 242
— probably dates from the time of Marcus Aurelius, 248 sq
— in relation to the topography of Britain, 251—264
Tattooing mentioned by Du Soul, 180
Tea-drinking meant by the word ὑδροποτεῖν, 180
Terra, meaning of the term in Domesday, 110
Terra ad Carucam, meaning of the phrase, 110
Terra ad Carucam, *see* Caruca, Hide
Thomas, Thomas, University Printer, 1583—1588, 292 sq.
— his difficulties with the Stationers, 292
— mentioned admiringly by his successor, 293
— his Dictionary, 293, 295
Tidder, John, prosecuted for selling books in Cambridge market, 296
Tonson, Jacob, quarto editions of classics printed for him at Cambridge, 311
Torregiano, Pietro, sculptor, the Lady Margaret's tomb executed by, 265 sq.
Tradesmen and landowners, connexion between them in bygone days, 212, 213
Trajan Decius, erroneous interpretation of monogram XP on a Greek coin of his, 80

U.

Umbo, Saxon, with gilt ornamentation, figured, 14
Uni, Etruscan equivalent of Juno, 193
University Press, *see* Press

V.

Valentinian III., gold coin of, figured, 82
Valuation (valet) of Manors and Holdings, 120—124
Vertumnus, bronze statue of, brought from Volsinii, 279

W.

Walker, Rev. Bryan, on the Domesday of Cambridgeshire, 93—129
— on the Tabula Peutingeriana, 237—264
Watts, Richard, University Printer (1802—1809), 323
— contentions with the Syndics, 323
— removal to Broxbourne, 324
— removal to London, 324
— oriental, &c. types, 324
— death at Edmonton, 325
Weights used in jumping, 179
Wewyck, Maynarde, painter, worked upon the Lady Margaret's tomb, 266 sq.
Whinn, Matthew, University Printer, 308
Willingham, hoard of Roman coins found at, 225—231
Wilson, Andrew, executes stereotype printing for the University (1804—1811 ?), 325 sqq.
— details of his bill, 327
— agreement for the acquisition of his secret by the University, 328

Digitized by Google

Wilton, Catharine, wife of Henry, her grave, 202
Wilton, Henry, his grave at St Peter's Mancroft, 202
Wilton, Richard, of Topcroft Hall, notes from his journals, &c., 201—223
— marries Anne Buxton in 1585, 202
— left a widower in 1607, 203
— hands over his house to 'son Neve', 204
— purchases Beck Hall and Hargham Hall, 205
— marries Mrs Scryvenere, 205
— allowances to his daughters, 207
— sends his sons to school, 209
Wilton, Richard, junr., apprenticed to a mercer, 212
— his death in 1620, 211
Wilton, Robert, goes to Cambridge (1614), 215
— goes to London (1617), 216
— succeeds his father, 217
— a strong Royalist, 217
— his grave at Wilby, 217
Wilton, Thomas, goes to Cambridge (1621), 218
— goes to London (1626), 220
Wolf, Ihon, painter (1509), 271
Wymondham Grammar School, 210
— exhibitions at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 223 *note*

End of Volume V.

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CONTENTS

OF COMMUNICATIONS, No. XXIII.

Vol. V, Part I.

PAGE

I. On two remarkable engraved Gems of early Christian work. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 1

II. Account of the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by Walter K. Foster, Esq., F.S.A. (With 12 Plates.) 5

III. "Stampare a conio." How did the Romans strike their Medallions? Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 33

IV. On the portrait of Homer upon an unpublished coin of Nicaea in Bithynia. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A. Corpus Christi College 41

V. On the earthen rampart at Perekop, at the entrance o the Crimea. Communicated by the Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D., Emmanuel College 47

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OF COMMUNICATIONS, No. XXIV.

Vol. V, Part II.

PAGE

VI. Notes on four series of Palaeolithic Implements from South Africa. By Mr John C. Rickard, Cambridge. Communicated, with remarks, by A. F. Griffith, Esq., B.A., Christ's College (with 6 plates) 57

VII. Notes on some Neolithic Implements from South Africa. By Mr John C. Rickard, Cambridge. Communicated by A. F. Griffith, Esq., B.A., Christ's College 67

VIII. On two unpublished Christian gem-types. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 75

IX. On the Measurements and Valuations of the Domesday of Cambridgeshire. Communicated by the Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., Corpus Christi College (with an atlas of tables in folio) . . 93

X. On the Minster-Church at Aachen. Communicated by R. C. Bladé, Esq., M.A., King's College (with 4 plates) 131

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XII. On a Cameo representing Jupiter Dodonaeus. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 183

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CONTENTS

OF COMMUNICATIONS, No. XXV.

VOL. V, PART III.

		PAGE
XIII.	On some bronze Etruscan mirrors with engraved reverses. Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A.	185
XIV.	Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-book, with some particulars of school and college expenses in the 16th and 17th centuries. Communicated by the Rev. E. K. BENNET, D.C.L. . . .	201
XV.	On Roman coins found at Willingham. Communicated by F. J. H. JENKINSON, M.A.	225
XVI.	On an onyx cameo of Marcia in the character of Omphale. Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A.	233
XVII.	On the Tabula Peutingeriana. Communicated by the Rev. BEVAN WALKER, LL.D.	237
XVIII.	On the Tomb of Lady Margaret. By J. W. CLARK . . .	265

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

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CONTENTS

OF COMMUNICATIONS, No. XXVI.

Vol. V, Part IV.

PAGE

XIX. On a Silver Statuette of Fortuna Nemesis. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 273

XX. Biographical Notes on the University Printers from the Commencement of Printing in Cambridge to the Present Time. Communicated by Robert Bowes, Esq. 283

XXI. On the Signet of Eros. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 363

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